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CONTENTS

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MONARCHS AND SOCIOLOGISTS:

A REPLY TO PROFESSOR SHILS AND

MR. YOUNG

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In the course of an analysis of the Coronation in this publication, Professor Shils and Mr. Young have suggested some sociological generalizations of universal scope, ventured a characterization of modern Britain, and taken issue with some of us (variously designated as 'intellectuals' or adherents of 'secular utilitarianism') for blindness, if not hostility, to truths which they find practically self-evident.

A brief and, I hope, an accurate summary of their views is made easy by the explicitness with which they advance many of their central assumptions. Their most critical assumption is, perhaps, the following: 'A society is held together by its internal agreement about the sacredness of certain fundamental moral standards.' (Page 80). These moral standards are something more than means for regulating social relationships. They are objects of stubborn and unquestioning commitment, which functions even in secular societies in ways exactly analogous to religious belief. It is this commitment which endows the ultimate moral directives of a society with a 'sacred' character. These directives arrange themselves in a single and coherent value hierarchy. The result is a basic unanimity of moral belief and action which renders most societies 'generally peaceful and coherent' (Page 65) despite all conflicts which may and do occur.

The sacredness of a society's value hierarchy somehow infuses the authority structure of the society with a similar status. Professor Shils and Mr. Young declare that this process takes place 'in an inchoate, dimly perceived, and seldom explicit manner.' (Page 80). Authority becomes more than functional. A channel of communication with 'the realm of the sacred values' (Page 80) and indeed, the custodian of these values, authority itself becomes sacred.

It is in this framework that Professor Shils and Mr. Young analyse the function of the British monarchy. The Crown symbolizes the authority system of British society in two respects. It represents, or is in close touch with, the value hierarchy constitutive of British society. It also stands for the benign aspects of elites actually governing the society. To this second component of its symbolic role, the very helplessness and powerlessness of the Crown is a critical contribution. The divorce of the Crown from politics enables it to mobilize the positive feelings of the populace. It also refracts these feelings, as it were, onto the effective authorities of the society. And the process of refraction is extremly effective in countering those negative impulses towards authority which might otherwise break down the social structure.

The Coronation ritual was a demonstration of the way in which the Crown keeps British society intact. Joint participation in the ritual induced in the members of British society a sense of unity with one another. The ritual called forth those positive sentiments toward the Crown which are so effective in stabilizing the authority system generally. It was the occasion for the re-affirmation of those moral standards binding the community together. In a very real sense, we may say that the ritual re-constituted British society itself.

Such are the propositions advanced by our colleagues as indispensable aids to the understanding of 'the meaning of the Coronation.' But meaning, it may be recalled, is an ambiguous word. We may understand the meaning of an event in a factual sense and analyse its antecedents, its accompaniments, its consequences. In discourse of this sort, statement is in principle referable to fact. Professor Shils and Mr. Young present their essay as an exercise of this kind. They do advance propositions both general and abstract. But they are quite obviously aware that such propositions are, ultimately, dependent upon fact.

A closer examination of their text, however, suggests that they have not entirely escaped the ambiguity implied by the term, meaning. The meaning of an event may also refer to its relationship to our subjective preferences. This critique contends that Professor Shils and Mr. Young, in discussing the Coronation, have confused two types of discourse. Their view of objective fact has been distorted by their subjective preferences. They have reconstructed reality to suit their own biases. For reasons other than scientific error their interpretation of 'the meaning of the Coronation,' then, may well

differ from the interpretation other observers would make. But before we pursue this argument further, the authors' claim to have presented the event in scientific terms deserves a close analysis.

I

The authors' central proposition seems to be the following: 'In all societies, most of the adult members possess some moral standards and beliefs about which there is agreement. There is an ordering and assessment of actions and qualities according to a definite, although usually unspoken, conception of virtue. The general acceptance of this scale of values, even though vague and inarticulate, constitutes the general moral consensus of society.' (Page 65).

The authors advance no evidence in support of this proposition. Nor could they do so. The existence of consensus has served sociology as an operating assumption for so long that its heuristic status has been forgotten. Treating a proposition as proven does not in fact prove it. On the face of it, this proposition violates the evidence we do have, which suggests that complex and rationalized societies like our own are arenas for conflicts of beliefs and moral standards unmatched in comparative and historical perspective. It would be useful to know what sort of consensus does exist in any modern society, what its objects are, and who participates in it. But the existence of unitary value hierarchies of so unequivocal a kind has yet to be demonstrated.

Professor Shils and Mr. Young do attempt to specify their proposition: 'What are the moral values which restrain men's egotism and enable society to hold itself together? A few can be listed illustratively: generosity, charity, loyalty, justice in the distribution of opportunities and rewards, reasonable respect for authority, the dignity of the individual and his right to freedom.' (Page 65). These values, of course, are specific only to one type of society. Other societies have institutionalized antithetical values but have been successful in the restraint of egotism and the maintenance of their coherence. Even for this society, the specified values are extremely vague. When, for instance, does respect for authority cease to be 'reasonable?' Almost any of the values cited could generate mutually exclusive directives for action in a number of easily imaginable moral dilemmas.

When the authors try to show that a single scheme of values unites different components of the social structure, they are not very con-

vincing. Relating the family system to the Coronation ritual, they claim that this was an occasion 'for re-asserting its solidarity and for re-emphasizing the values of the family—generosity, loyalty, love—which are at the same time the fundamental values necessary for the well being of the larger society.' (Page 73). The larger society, however, includes very many large-scale and impersonal organizational structures, where 'generosity, loyalty, love' are positive hindrances to effective organizational function. Indeed, the antithesis between familial values and those of the occupational system is a familiar theme in much literature on the social background of psychiatric disorder.

Perhaps some of the authors' difficulty in this matter is a consequence of their failure to distinguish complex societies of the modern, industrial type from other social systems. They use the terms, 'polis or community,' (Page 66) in this analysis of modern Britain as if the familiar problem of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* could be dismissed out of hand. Sociological hypotheses applicable to small primitive village communities or to ancient and medieval city-states may require radical qualification in other situations.

In any case, generalizations about the integration of society around a unitary value hierarchy may not always apply even in pre-industrial systems. Our view of social integration depends upon our view of the authors' contention that in social organization, order prevails over conflict. Professor Shils and Mr. Young do not deny the existence of conflict. They simply assert that 'intertwined with all these conflicts are agreements strong enough to keep society generally peaceful and coherent.' (Page 65). They phrase their proposition in a manner so inexplicit that it is difficult to see what sorts of evidence might test it. But even on this exceedingly general plane, we may say that most readings of social history do not support the authors' view. Conflict seems to be as prevalent a component of social life as order. One or the other may prevail in a society at any given time, yet history records ceaseless alternation between these two modes. Sociology would be guilty of a peculiarly flagrant over-simplification were it to insist on the predominance of either one. (The insistence on the existence of integration in the essay of Professor Shils and Mr. Young may represent one of the 'disfunctional' consequences of their reliance on functional analysis. Functional analysis does emphasize social integration, but the emphasis is a heuristic device and ought not to prejudice our view of social reality).

Some further difficulties emerge with scrutiny of the authors' argument on the function of the value system in the social structure. They hold that 'A society is held together by its internal agreement about the sacredness of certain fundamental moral standards.' (Page 80) This 'agreement' is said to be 'unspoken' or 'vague and inarticulate.' Page 65) The alleged inarticulateness of the agreement seems to contradict a part, at least, of the authors' subsequent analysis of the ritual itself, which assumes considerable consciousness of values in the populace. If the agreement, however, is inarticulate and not reasoned out, it may well be a sort of enforced agreement, the result of some form of psychological manipulation. Psychological analysis can, of course, involve us in endless regress in the search for some entity like *real assent*. But we may remind ourselves that effectiveness at one level does not constitute authenticity at another. Professor Shils and Mr. Young are not very specific as to what they mean by agreement, and their definition opens problems as well as suggesting solutions to them.

Another difficulty is, perhaps, more disturbing. Despite their definitiveness of style, Professor Shils and Mr. Young are not quite clear that moral standards and beliefs are so important after all. Their discussion tends to veer between two propositions. The first holds that the standards themselves are sacred. The second treats their sacredness as a derivative of submission to some or other authority held sacred. For instance, they write : 'The sacredness of society is at bottom the sacredness of its moral rules, which itself derives from the presumed relationship between these rules in their deepest significance and the forces and agents which men regard as having the power to influence their destiny for better or for worse.' (Page 66) And, further on, they tell us : 'The reaffirmation of the moral rules of society serves to quell their own (the populace's) hostility towards these rules and also reinstates them in the appropriate relations with the greater values and powers behind the moral rules.' In these passages, and in the analysis elsewhere in the text, 'forces and agents' and 'powers' seem more important than the rules themselves.

In the summary of their argument, Professor Shils and Mr. Young declare: '. . . that authority which is charged with obligations to provide for and to protect the community in its fundamental constitution is always rooted in the sacred.' (Page 75) We have previously noted their remark that the connection between the sacredness of the

rules and that of the authorities administering them is 'inchoate.' (Page 80) Certainly, the use of terms like 'rooted in' does little to improve our understanding of the connection. But it does point, not only to a certain contradiction in the argument, but to one of the authors' most important biases: the extremely high value they themselves place upon authority. We shall have ample occasion to deal with this matter in the final section of this critique. For the moment, it suffices to note it, and to pass on to some more difficulties in the text.

Not only do the authors assume that unitary value hierarchies exist in all societies; they seem unable to treat situations of value conflict systematically. They write of the ordinary man: 'He too is a moral being, and even when he evades standards and dishonours obligations, he almost always concedes their validity. The revivalist reassertion of moral standards in highly individualistic frontier groups, or among detribalized primitive societies in the process of yielding before the pressure of a modern economy, are instances of the respect vice pays to virtue. The recourse to the priestly confessor and the psychoanalyst testify to the power of moral standards even in situations where they are powerless to prevent actual wrongdoing,' (Page 65).

This statement assumes that in the social situations it describes, only one set of standards can be called 'moral.' Yet Professor Shils and Mr. Young define as 'actual wrongdoing' what seems to be in fact the exercise of choice in a situation of opposing moral standards. They are, of course, quite right to suggest that moral conflicts mount in situations of decreasing social cohesion. But to talk of the revival of 'moral standards' (rather than some specific set of standards) in individualized groups is to come very near to the suggestion that morality is that which maximizes group cohesion.

What both priestly confessors and psychoanalysts frequently do, moreover, is to affirm the impossibility of unambiguous moral decision. People turn to these agencies when their situation is overwhelmingly complex, when conflicting pressures for moral decision are nearly intolerable. In these circumstances, the very affirmation of the impossibility of unambiguous decision is a definite social service.

A similar note colours the authors' discussion of the family's place in society: 'The family tie is regarded as sacred, even by those who would or do shirk the diffuse obligations it imposes.' (Page 72)

Surely, it is unusual for sociologists to employ the term, 'shirk.' One would expect scientific students of society to take great care to avoid treating phenomena like divorce and family tension in moralistic terms. In any case, it is difficult to demonstrate that people do in fact regard the family tie as 'sacred' in our own society

The difficulties discussed throughout this section may be artifacts of an unfortunate choice of language. More probably, they may stem from too literal a utilization of the familiar sociological theories of moral integration. Alternatively, they may reflect distortions produced by the authors' value preferences. The next step in this critique is an examination of the authors' views of modern British society.

II

Professor Shils and Mr. Young begin their essay with an indictment of contemporary political science in Great Britain. They tax political scientists with tending to 'speak as if Britain is now an odd kind of republic.' (Page 63) Most political scientists, however, do more than speak this way; they understand British political institutions to function in just these terms. The authors resuscitate Bagehot's nineteenth century interpretation of the psychological role of the monarchy. Quite correctly, they add that the great editor of the *The Economist* supported the Crown for the 'precise reason that the republicans opposed it: because it enabled the educated ten thousand to go on governing as before.' (Page 64). Professor Shils and Mr. Young argue that the nineteenth century saw the establishment of the stability of the British monarchy and they note that 'whereas a century ago republicanism had numerous proponents in England, it is now a narrow and eccentric sect.' (Page 76).

But most astonishing is the authors' studied avoidance of any reference to the basic changes in the functions and limits of the British monarchy since Bagehot's day. Its stability has in fact been purchased by a successive series of capitulations to republican demands. Professor Shils and Mr. Young refer to none of the constitutional crises of the recent past, and it must be said that their criticism of scholars like the late Professor Laski and Professor Jennings is a bit gratuitous. Neither would have written, as the authors do, of Lord Melbourne, Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Gladstone as 'the glittering host whose lives are the constitutional history of the realm.' (Page 64).

We have already noted the authors' view of the current function of the monarchy. Professor Shils and Mr. Young hold that the very powerlessness of the Crown enables it 'to bask in the sunshine of an affection unadulterated by its opposite.' (Page 77). The concentration of affection on the Crown is, further, a great contribution to the stability of British political life. Those negative and destructive impulses towards authority present in any society, in their turn, concentrate on the leaders of the actual political parties, while the positive popular attitude toward the Crown keeps the entire authority system intact.

But this argument about the diffusion of positive and negative political impulses is not altogether plausible. It is difficult to see why the negative impulses, released in the ordinary sphere of politics, should not make British political life a shambles. Professor Shils and Mr. Young, apparently aware of this difficulty, interpose the proposition that 'An effective segregation of love and hatred, when the love is directed towards a genuinely loveworthy object, reduces the intensity of the hatred as well.' (Page 78). Most of us can recall a political segregation of love and hatred which resulted in extreme adulation for the late German Fuehrer, and in extreme bestiality toward the opposition. The last proposition cited, further, does not seem to find a place in psychoanalytic literature. And the question of the loveworthiness of the object, with all respect for the Royal House, is not one which sociologists can answer in their scientific capacities.

The point of these critical remarks is not a denial of the undoubted relative political stability of Great Britain. The point is, rather, that Professor Shils and Mr. Young have given no internally consistent explanation of the Crown's contribution to this stability. What we really have to deal with seems to be a balance of psychological forces within the British population, such that positive impulses towards the political community outweigh negative ones. If so, the Crown as one focus of these sentiments may play a quite secondary and dependent role in the entire process. At times, Professor Shils and Mr. Young come very near to this viewpoint. They argue, in effect, that the British monarchy is so stable because of the high level of social integration attained by British society.

The authors assert that 'Over the past century, British society, despite distinctions of nationality and social status, has achieved a degree of moral unity equalled by no other large national state.'

(Page 76). Again, we must note a considerable vagueness of definition. What exactly is 'moral unity?' How are we to distinguish it from that sort of imposed unity found in totalitarian societies, or from the extreme standardization and conformity of a culture like that of the contemporary United States?

Some indication of what the authors mean comes from the immediately following remark: 'The assimilation of the working class into the moral consensus of British society, though certainly far from complete, has gone further in Great Britain than anywhere else, and its transformation from one of the most unruly and violent into one of the most orderly and law-abiding is one of the great collective achievements of modern times.' (Page 76). This is an extraordinary statement by any criterion. Most visitors to this country from the U.S. are struck by the difference between the *embourgeoisment* of the American worker and the by now traditionalized and self-conscious class consciousness of his British counterpart. In any case, to speak of the assimilation of the working class into the consensus of British society is to define that consensus by exclusive reference to middle and upper class groups. This is at least as much a reference to the presumed extension of the morality and ideology of one class to another as it is to consensus in the usual sense of the term.

Professor Shils and Mr. Young do seem to mean an extension of this sort, or we should find inexplicable their remark that 'the painstaking probity of Kings George V and VI in dealing with the Labour Party . . . has helped to weld the Labour Party and its following firmly into the moral framework of the national life.' (Page 77). This statement defines national moral community in terms of the propertied classes and their servitors. It is at least as plausible to assert that the social changes instituted by Labour, and won only as the climax of over a century of bitter struggle, brought the propertied into the national moral life for the first time. Royal probity is beside the point: the Monarchs in question had to choose between accepting socialism or unemployment for their House.

The authors at times write as if conflict, and especially class conflict, were in Great Britain a thing presently unknown. 'The universities, the municipalities, the professional bodies, the trade unions, the business corporations . . . co-exist and co-operate in a remarkable atmosphere of mutual respect and relative freedom from acrimony.' (Page 79). This is quite true relative to Italy, for instance, but would our authors say so if asked to compare Britain to Yugo-

slavia? Exceedingly general comparative statements of this kind are useful as rough impressions, but they contribute little to systematic analysis of a social system. Professor Shils and Mr. Young persist in treating Britain as unified without much further specification, which allows them to say that, 'The monarchy is the one pervasive institution, standing above all others, which plays a part in a vital way comparable to the function of the medieval Church as seen by Professor Tawney—the function of integrating diverse elements into a whole by protecting and defining their autonomy.' (Page 79). The imputed protecting and defining powers of the Crown contradict that portion of the authors' analysis which emphasizes the powerlessness of the Monarchy. And the analogy with medieval society simply distorts historical fact: the Church in that society was the centre of extreme conflict.

Despite their general silence on the problem of class conflicts in modern Britain, the authors do acknowledge that the First World War, the General Strike and the Depression discredited the British 'ruling class.' (Page 76). (It is difficult to see why a perfectly legitimate sociological concept, that of the ruling class, alone of all the concepts used by the authors merits isolation by quotation marks. Perhaps we are supposed to infer that the idea of a ruling class is some kind of fiction, or that it is hazier than notions like consensus).

The authors note immediately after remarking on the decline in prestige of the ruling elite, that 'Consensus on fundamental values remained.' (Page 76). It is unclear what these fundamental values could have been, since consensus by the authors' own admission did not quite extend to the legitimacy and efficacy of the society's ruling elite or of its economic institutions. Agreements on 'justice' and 'charity' do not seem to have precluded the social conflicts of the past decades. It is a question whether they alone set the limits, undoubtedly present, which kept Britain from civil war. The authors' emphasis on the integration of society about a single value system precludes alternative explanations of the phenomena of social cohesion, or, more accurately put, of compliance. And Professor Shils and Mr. Young make very little effort to relate value integration to other dynamic aspects of the social system.

We have previously noted the authors' silence on the question of the Monarch's change in status and function in modern times. Much of their analysis suffers, as already suggested, from a curious attribution to the Crown of powers it does not in fact possess. 'The crowds

who turn out to see the Queen, who waited in the rain in quiet happiness to see the Queen and her soldiers, were waiting to enter into contact with the mighty powers who are symbolically and to some extent really responsible for the care and protection of their basic values.' (Page 75). Some of the language may remind us of a political bed-time story rather than a serious analysis, but the main point is the authors' foreshortened perspective. Professor Shils and Mr. Young do not discuss the prosaic questions of popular sovereignty, representation, parliamentary process and the problem of control of bureaucracy. But surely these are more relevant to the 'care and protection' of the basic values of the populace than the Monarchy, whose real responsibilities are so few. The officials who work at National Insurance, from this point of view, deserved a place in the Coronation procession before the fighting services. (And if the authors employ the analysis of the unconscious, they ought to acknowledge that popular adulation for the Queen's soldiers may have its sources in phenomena of social mal-integration, rather than the reverse).

We have noted the authors' views of the society in which the Coronation ritual took place. It now remains to examine their account of the ritual itself.

III

The authors describe the Coronation service as itself 'a series of ritual affirmations of the moral values necessary to a well-governed and good society.' (Page 67). It is unclear whether the authors assert that these values are believed to be necessary in British society, or are simply expressing their own preferences. The supposed British values are not universal, and other versions of 'well-governed and good' societies, if there be such, are imaginable. 'The whole service reiterates their (the values') supremacy above the personality of the Sovereign.' (Page 68). We may, then, note an initial discrepancy between the service and popular response to it. The response focussed, by general agreement, on the personality of the Sovereign.

Professor Shils and Mr. Young treat the Coronation service with an astonishing literalness. We may say that their literalness of interpretation seems to match that of the Archbishop of Canterbury, if of nobody else. Thus they write of the Queen's oath to 'govern' the people of the United Kingdom and the Dominions in accord with their law and customs, without noting the anachronism evident in

the use of the term, 'govern.' (Page 68). They describe the Bible presented to the Queen in the course of the service as 'a source of continuous inspiration in the moral regulation of society.' (Page 69). The Gideon Society would be glad to hear this, but the rest of us must doubt that this book has so much influence on contemporary social life. And when they describe the Queen as acknowledging 'the transcendent moral standards and their divine source' (Page 68) all that we may say is that the transcendence of moral standards, and their divine origin, are not subject to verification by the usual empirical means.

Professor Shils and Mr. Young are so insistent on the meaningfulness of the ritual that they get into some difficulties. They deny, for instance, that the organization of the service by the Church of England was regarded as an anomaly. But the participation of the Moderator of the Scottish Church followed very considerable public dispute on this score. The claim that the Coronation role of the Church of England 'served the vague religiosity of the mass of the British people without raising issues of ecclesiastical jurisdiction or formal representation' (Page 69) is not, therefore, accurate.

The authors go on to assert that 'Britain is generally a Christian country, it is certainly a religious country, in the broad sense,' (Page 69) but the assertion is so broad as to be nearly empty. It is likely, indeed, to provoke contradiction from those Churchmen who see their task as the reconquest of Britain for Christianity. What, after all, does 'Christian' mean? It can refer either to formal religious affiliation, or to actual ethical practice. In the latter case, assertions about the Christianity of Great Britain are open to serious dispute.

Some other comments of the authors are simply perplexing. They cite the words of the anointing ceremony: 'And as Solomon was anointed King by Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet, so be thou anointed, blessed and consecrated Queen over the peoples,' and add: 'It is not merely an analogy; it is a symbolization of reality, in conformity with sacred precedent.' (Page 69). But just what reality is meant? Unlike the Ethiopian Emperor, British monarchs do not claim descent from the Kings of the Old Testament. Nor does an alleged linear connection between the Kingdoms of ancient Israel and the British Empire play a significant role in British political theory.

But literalness alone is perhaps the least difficulty of the authors' presentation. Far more serious is their attribution to the ritual of meanings not shared by the populace as a whole. Writing of the

presentation of the naked sword to the Queen, the authors tell us: 'In this way the terrible responsibilities and powers of royal authority are communicated to the Queen and the people. The people are thus made aware of the protection which a good authority can offer them when they themselves adhere to the moral law, and of the wrathful punishment which will follow their deviation.' (Page 70). But the constitutional monarchy in Britain is singularly free from responsibilities and powers, terrible or otherwise. And we have no evidence that the British people in fact made this interpretation of the ceremony. Nor is it clear how they could have done so, in view of the vagueness of a general 'moral law' in complex societies.

The authors claim that the Coronation had a ritual function in virtue of a ritual meaning shared by millions. Their evidence for the existence of a shared ritual meaning is very scant. They do report that a survey of London street parties (a sample about which they give no further information) showed 'the complete inability of people to say why they thought important the occasion they were honouring with such elaborate ritual.' (Page 63). This initial bit of evidence, apparently meant to underscore the unconscious component of ritual, seems to contradict the text a little further on (Page 64) in which 'ordinary people,' on the authority of a Sunday newspaper, are quoted as describing the Coronation as an 'inspiration' or a national 'rededication.' Some subsequent remarks on letters written to the *Manchester Guardian* in protest at a sardonic cartoon by David Low ignore our lack of information as to the composition of this sample. The persons who wrote to denounce Low's attack on Coronation expenditure might have been country parsons, middle-class ladies of more respectability than means, or even sociologists. But we do not know how representative this vocal group was.

The climax of the article is the authors' attempt to give the ritual a theoretical explanation. They draw on Durkheim to support their claim that the Coronation re-integrated British society about a single scale of values. But we have already seen that the existence of a common value system in Great Britain is not easy to demonstrate. The authors' corollary, that the ritual reaffirmed allegiance to the authority system of Great Britain, is equally unconvincing. Their account of the role of the Crown in that system is anachronistic, and in any case, they fail to distinguish between ritual and real behaviour.

They hold that the Coronation overcame the ambivalence of individuals towards the moral rules of British society, by exerting

a strengthening influence on their positive attitudes. But it is not clear what is strengthened by contact with the rules 'in their most sacred form—as principles, or when symbolized in ritual activities, or when preached in moving sermons or speeches.' (Page 67). We may discount this recurrence of a reverentially literal acceptance of the claims of the self-elected custodians of public morality by the authors. But we cannot discount the more basic difficulties of their position. Ritual may well satisfy the outward demands of conformity and allow transgression of the rules to continue unimpeded. Or it may relieve anxiety and, in the end, produce the same external result. In the ceremonial throng that crowded Westminster Abbey there may have been one or two accomplished evaders of income tax. Yet we have no evidence that ritual enthusiasm moved any such person to make remissions to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Professor Shils and Mr. Young amplify their argument by comparing the atmosphere of the Coronation to the blitz, the 1947 fuel crisis, the smog of 1952, 'even during the Watson-Bailey stand in the Lord's Test or Lock's final overs.' (Page 74). They add: 'And to some extent the broad reasons were probably the same. There was a vital common subject for people to talk about; whatever the individual's speciality, the same thought was uppermost in his mind as in everybody else's, and that made it easier to overcome the customary barriers. But no less important than the common subject is the common sentiment of the sacredness of communal life and institutions.'

Professor Shils and Mr. Young have phrased this passage so loosely that they are in difficulties. They would surely not wish us to infer that the blitz, the fuel crisis, and the smog were sacred institutions. Cricket is very notably a class-specific game and as such, is no more sacred to the rest of Britain than gin and tonic. The examples they give tend to support those supposedly superficial theories of the Coronation response which they deplore.

They claim that the family was the social unit 'recognised' (Page 73) as the most appropriate for entry into the Coronation celebration. Since most people were home from work, it is difficult to see what other units they could have formed. But the note on the family contradicts the claim that the Coronation atmosphere overcame the 'customary barriers' between people. The customary barriers of social distance are strongest, by general agreement, where the boundaries of the family begin.

18

The authors state their argument in summary form as follows: 'In a great national communion like the Coronation, people become more aware of their dependence upon each other, and they sensed some connection between this and their relationship to the Queen. Thereby they became more sensitive to the values which bound them all together.' (Page 74).

Another argument might run this way. The very absence of shared values in Great Britain accounts for some of the attention paid to the Coronation. The Coronation provided, for some sections of the populace, some measure of surcease from that condition of conflict which is more or less permanent for complex societies, of an industrial and modified capitalist type. Under this viewpoint, the role of the press in stirring up popular enthusiasm for the Coronation is less inexplicable. In response to the class interests it generally represents, the press continually seeks to minimize awareness of the real conflicts characteristic of British society. But the Coronation was a holiday, and its connections with the daily routine of social relationships was by no means as critical as the authors imagine. In this context, the personality of the Queen and her family functioned as the object of various fantasies and identifications in a way not much more 'sacred' than the cult of adulation built up around certain film stars.

The concluding section of this critique seeks to analyse some of the reasons for the extraordinary value placed upon the ritual by Professor Shils and Mr. Young.

IV

We have noted the scientific untenability of some of the authors' central assumptions. It would be easy enough to attribute these difficulties to one or another conventional source of error: faulty reasoning, lack of critical reflection, reliance on insufficient data. But if we did so, we should ignore a considerable body of thought in social science which tells us that the perceptions of men are frequently dictated by their interests. This final section of the critique is an effort to sketch some of the interests Professor Shils and Mr. Young apparently bring to the analysis of the Coronation.

Professor Shils and Mr. Young, it may be recalled, employ a similar approach. They argue that the 'intellectualist' biases of the educated classes account for a functional blindness to religious and quasi-religious phenomena. They argue, further, that the bias of the

educated, 'particularly those of radical or liberal political disposition, is liable to produce abhorrence towards manifestations of popular devotion to any institution which cannot recommend itself to secular utilitarianism.' (Page 71).

But the sociological advocates of religiosity seem unable to grasp something essential in our intellectual situation. They ignore the religious thought of a Karl Barth or an Emmanuel Monnier. They seem unable to take Kierkegaard's heirs seriously, or even to acknowledge their existence. This is no accident. Those most concerned with faith in the age of totalitarianism, whether German Lutheran or French Catholic, existentialist or communal in their assumptions, absolutely reject those 'friends' of religion who would make it a prop of *this* social order. The secular utilitarians and the surviving Christians surely unite on this point: the tawdry baubles of the Coronation celebration constitute no adequate substitute for the lost faith of millions.

Professor Shils and Mr. Young place an extremely high valuation upon tradition, conformity, and authority. Their conception of religion assigns to it the role of legitimating the existent structure of power. But it need not conceal from us some of the other historical roles taken by religion: in the activities of the medieval sects, in the Reformation, and in the contribution of non-conformism to British culture. In fact, the authors' attack on the critical habits of the 'intellectuals' is an attack on the Protestant tradition, even if directed ostensibly against its secularized derivatives.

Scoffing at the 'educated detractors' of the ordinary man, they argue that assent by ordinary men to the moral standards of their society renders them moral beings. 'Only philosophical intellectuals and prophets demand that conduct be guided by explicit moral standards . . .' while those persons 'who derive and justify every action by referring it to a general principle impress most others as intolerable doctrinaires.' (Page 71).

A good many of us have always thought that the continual examination of moral standards was in fact more moral than the uncritical acceptance of received tradition. This may make us 'intolerable doctrinaires,' but it does not seem that the implicit adherence to tradition celebrated by Professor Shils and Mr. Young is much better. The authors' insistence on the desirability of uncritical acceptance of morality combines with their suggestion that morality is the maintenance of group cohesion to account for the

vigour of their attack on the intellectuals. But their own work should give them some reassurance that intellectuality does not automatically lead to dissent.

The intellectuals' desire to elevate the ordinary man from 'spiritual slothfulness' (Page 71) is by no means born of that contempt for him imputed by the authors. Most intellectuals critical of modern society (and the number seems to be diminishing) feel that it cheapens and violates human dignity, converts reason from a mode of enlightenment to an instrument of oppression, and obliterates the individual. Those who, with Profesor Shils and Mr. Young, argue that the tinsel revels of the Coronation holiday in Britain represent an ultimate in gratification are hardly in a position to reproach the rest of us for contempt of our fellow humans.

Professor Shils and Mr. Young take some pains to remind the intellectuals that the 'alienated and cantankerous' attitudes of the 1930s are past. But those who have read the recently published memoirs of Dr. Thomas Jones will wonder who, the intellectuals or the men typified by Baldwin, were in fact 'alienated.' The intellectuals were at least aware that a catastrophe impended. The authors note with some satisfaction that recent years have seen the assimilation of the intellectuals to British society. Their attribution of this process to employment, government patronage, and repugnance for the Soviet Union as well as national pride must qualify the use of the term 'moral' to describe the consensus that was the result. (Pages 76 and 77).

Professor Shils and Mr. Young are so insistent on compliance that they distort the most unobjectionable of assumptions. 'Life in a community is not only necessary to man for the genetic development of his human qualities. Society is necessary to man as an object of his higher evaluations and attachments, and without it man's human qualities could not find expression.' (Page 66). But we all know of societies, or moments in the existence of given societies, in which social circumstances seem to block the expression of what most of us would regard as man's human qualities. Such societies seem undeserving of attachment, higher or otherwise. But Professor Shils and Mr. Young can find no place in their sociological vocabulary for this sort of value conflict. They write as if the rules were there to be obeyed.

Thus, in analysing ambivalence towards the moral rules of a society, they treat this phenomenon in purely intra-psychic terms, as

'the struggle against morality being continually enacted in the human mind.' (Page 66). The authors see these conflicts as obstacles to be overcome in the interests of maximal integration of the social system, not as perpetual dilemmas of social life. And if such ambivalence is entirely intra-psychic, or psychological, then this constitutes a curious denial of the possibility of objectively justified conflict. But ambivalence towards the moral rules may express ambivalence to-. wards the existing *elite* of a society, as Professor Shils and Mr. Young know. This may or may not be justified in any given case, but it cannot be dismissed as simply subjective. Freud, we recall, traced the son's ambivalence toward the father to the latter's actual superiority over the child.

What seems to emerge in the authors' analysis of the Coronation is their own strong feeling of adherence to the official morality of Great Britain—and their preference for conformity to such moralities wherever they appear. In discussing popular response to the Coronation, they tell us that 'antagonism emerged only against the people who did not seem to be joining in the great event or treating with proper respect the important social values—by failing, for instance, to decorate their buildings with proper splendour.' (Page 75). They give no evidence for this assertion, nor any indication of how widespread this aversion might have been. We should also expect them, as social scientists, to show some awareness that such aggression might have been displaced from other spheres. Instead we get what from the language employed seems to be enthusiastic concurrence in it—concurrence quite explicit when we recall the authors' strictures on the 'intellectuals.'

We may make a similar comment on the authors' note that the ritual reinstated the British populace 'in the appropriate relations with the greater values and powers behind the moral rules.' (Page 66). Just what constitutes an 'appropriate' relationship to such values and powers depends, of course, upon one's preferences. The authors derive an answer satisfactory to themselves from their emphasis on the worth of social integration. But they cannot expect the rest of us to share it.

Perhaps typical of the authors' viewpoint is their warning to us, in the final pages of their analysis, that 'The British love of processions, of uniforms and ceremonial is not just simple-minded gullibility—it is the love of proximity to greatness and power.' (Page 75). But this is also a judgment of value. The question of the role

of authority in a democratic state and society is not one which can be solved by implicit recourse to the old Roman motto, *panem et circenses.* And it is a considerable disservice to sociology to present our discipline as a useful handmaiden of the current effort to make a conservative ideology once more orthodox and un-questioned.

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SOME INFLUENCES ON ENGLISH PENAL
REFORM, 1895-1921

A. G. Rose

T he process by which reform comes about is fascinating, but obscure. The balance of pressures, within any field at any given moment is a web of many threads in which economic influences, institutional structures, social pressures, and personal influence all play a part. Such influences are difficult enough to trace in economic matters where the interests of the parties concerned, and the sources of their power are clear. In the field of social reform the analysis of influences which lead to change is even more complex, for much depends upon personalities and the prevailing state of opinion amongst those who have the reins of power. Reform organisations, generally speaking, have nothing behind them but their ability to mobilise pressure in places where it counts. Whether this is likely to be effective depends very much upon the personalities, ideas and methods of the reformers, and the personalities and opinions of those who oppose them.

In the following article, the inspiration and conversion, through the writings of Tolstoy, of two minor reformers is set out and their work is evaluated and placed in perspective in the pattern of opinion of the time. The influence of Tolstoy, while it acts as a connecting link, should not be given undue prominence, but it is representative of one source of inspiration in the movement for reform, and the people concerned may be taken as illustrating a class of reformers—the idealist, rather utopian, humanitarian extremist—who is often encountered in such movements. The great influence which the writings of Tolstoy exercised upon a limited circle is also of interest in itself when seen in the setting of the penal reform movement in 1900.

The spiritual regeneration which Tolstoy underwent in later life is probably one of the best documented in history. Although many of his own works on the subject could not be published in his mother country, they soon became widely known outside Russia, and exerted

a considerable influence. Rejection of the world and its sinfulness is perhaps not uncommon, but Tolstoy's was not so much a rejection of the world but of worldliness as represented by the rich and eclectic aristocracy of Russia, and the ritual of the Established Church. To this is added an attempt to return to what he thought to be the original teachings of Christ in all their simplicity; and the whole is intellectualised in a series of compelling logical arguments set down with a pen of great power. It is not surprising that the total effect had great influence on those, like Tolstoy, of religious bent but in revolt against the social system of the time.

Tolstoy's philosophy stems from a profound, almost pathological, dissatisfaction with his own mode of living. In *A Confession* (1879) he relates how, after a conventional youth and early marriage, he gradually was overcome as the years went by, with the lack of objective and aim in his life. In his depressed state, he began to ask himself 'What is it for? What does it lead to?'¹ Such phases of middle-aged depression are common, but Tolstoy had uncommon mental equipment to deal with his. The result was a searching examination of science, philosophy and religion, in which he tried vainly to find a faith with which he could identify himself. The rational arguments of science, and the questionings of philosophy could not supply this. For a time he subdued himself to the rigours of the ritual of the Orthodox Church, for this was the faith of the 'poor, simple, unlettered folk' whose whole existence was 'a confirmation of the meaning of life which their faith gave them' and who were thus able to accept illness, suffering and death with tranquillity.² The Church also, however, could not stand up to the mixture of logical argument and the demand for a simple, emotional basis with which Tolstoy examined it, and he eventually rejected it, largely upon the ground that its supporters seemed to use its tenets to increase hostility, dissension and unhappiness rather than reduce them.

The system which Tolstoy eventually worked out for himself was based upon an extremely detailed re-examination of the texts of the Gospels, from which he elicited five new commandments given by Christ; do not be angry, do not lust, do not swear oaths (i.e. do not abdicate from the control of your future actions) 'resist not him that is evil' and 'love your enemies.' Of these the most important for Tolstoy was the doctrine of non-resistance, which he accepted in its most extreme form. The true believer could not obey the laws of the

State when they conflicted with Christ's commandments. This led to a complete denial of much of the machinery of State control—its army, courts, and police especially. Non-resistance, he said, was 'the key which opens everything, but only when it is pushed into the lock.'[3] Christianity was something to be lived; it could never be concerned only with personal salvation, but must infuse every private or public action.

If religious orthodoxy is rejected, individual conscience must take its place. The similarity to the Friends' 'inward light' is obvious, and it is not surprising that one of the two penal reformers with whom we are mainly concerned subsequently became a Friend.

The consequences of such a faith in the sphere of penal reform are twofold. In the first place, the basis is that society, not the criminal, is primarily at fault. 'The whole structure of our lives is such that each man's personal advantage is obtained by inflicting suffering on others . . . Not a single judge would decide to strangle with a rope the man he condemns to death from the bench. Not a single magistrate would make up his mind himself to take a peasant from his weeping family and shut him up in prison . . . All this is only done thanks to a very complex state and social machinery the purpose of which is so to distribute the responsibility for the evil deeds that are done that no one should feel the unnaturalness of those deeds.'[4] The implication is that 'justice' is as much to blame as the offender. Indeed, if the whole of the structure of Government is evil, as Tolstoy suggests,[5] then any punishment inflicted must be evil also. It further follows that any attempt at reforming the criminal under statute, is similarly evil, though this deduction is not made.

Secondly, in the same way that 'the fervent belief that the Light was given in measure to all men raised all human dignity to a new dignity,'[6] for the Quakers, the belief that men were individually fundamentally good,[7] and misguided only by the constructs of social organisation, meant that the criminal was to be regarded as much as a human being as anyone else. This was in direct contradiction to the penology of the time which for the most part in the words of the Gladstone Committee treated the prisoner 'too much as a hopeless or worthless element of the community' (p. 7) and indeed repressed him to the uttermost limits of 'less eligibility.'[8]

Akin to the Tolstoyan reaction is the growth during the late 1890's in this country of a movement calling itself 'humanitarianism.' As

an organised pressure group it starts from the foundation of the Humanitarian League mainly by Henry S. Salt, its Secretary, in 1891. Salt[9] was the centre of a circle of literary progressives, which included G.B.S., Edward Carpenter, Clarence Darrow, Havelock Ellis, and Sidney Olivier at various times. They believed in 'simplification,'[10] that is, the simple diet, and unostentatious living. The movement was not primarily religious, in origin, but grew from a revolt against the oppressive conventionalities and the superficiality of life among the upper classes in Victorian England, in Salt's case stemming from his revulsion against Eton. Edward Carpenter's *England's Ideal* is an excellent example of this type of reaction.

The movement's inspiration was drawn from Thoreau's *Walden*, rather than from Tolstoy, whose Christian fundamentalism would hardly have appealed to the group. The emphasis upon 'humaneness' as a principle of living with its corollary of belief in the good in every individual and the evil in society is, however, held in common with Tolstoy and the Friends, and its consequences in terms of attitudes to criminality are the same. The Humanitarian League took as one of its objects the amelioration of the severity of punishments and the prison regime (it was particularly concerned with flogging, and the creation of a Court of Criminal Appeal), and early in 1896 started a Criminal Law and Prison Department. Its general attitude is summed up in the following quotation from Salt.[11] 'But comical as their foreign policy is their social system is still more so, for under the guise of "charity" and "philanthropy" there exists, in fact, a civil war, in which each individual, or group of individuals, plays a remorseless game of "Beggar my neighbour" and "Devil take the hindmost" in a mad scramble for wealth, whence results, of course, a state of gross and glaring inequality, under which certain favoured persons wallow in the good things of life, while others pass their years in the pinch of extremest poverty. Thus, in due course, and by an unerring process is manufactured what they call "the criminal class"—that is, the host of those who are driven by social injustice to outlawry and violence. And herein, perhaps, more than in any other of their customs, is shown the inherent savagery of their natures, for instead of attempting to eradicate the *cause* of these evils by the institution of fairer and juster modes of living, my fellow-islanders are almost to a man in favour of "punishing" (that is the expression) these victims of their own foolish laws by the infliction of barbarous sentences of imprisonment or the lash, or in extreme cases, the

gallows. To inculcate habits of honesty they shut a man in prison, and render him more than ever incapable of earning an honest livelihood. As a warning against robbery with violence, they give a lesson in official violence by flogging the criminal, and by way of teaching the sanctity of human life, they judicially murder the murderer. Many a grotesque absurdity is solemnly and deliberately enacted in their so-called "courts of law," and any one who ventures to suggest that this is the case is regarded as a fool and a reprobate for his pains.'

The League was, however, more practical and effective than the above may suggest, and until its death in 1919 it did much to educate public opinion, especially upon flogging. It supported the Rev. W. D. Morrison in his emphasis upon the social causes of crime and upon the constructive use of prison sentences,[12] and sponsored or encouraged the production of a number of pamphlets on the subject.[13]

Various members of the Humanitarian League were in contact with Tolstoy. Salt is known to have been in correspondence with him, and the master sent him a pamphlet on vegetarianism 'as a token of his deep respect."[1] Clarence Darrow was an ardent Tolstoyan.[15] A close friend of Darrow, named Crosby, also at one time in the Salt circle, underwent a spiritual conversion as a result of reading one of Tolstoy's books, resigned his position as a Judge in Egypt (he was actually an American) and in 1894 travelled to Russia to visit the master. Of him Tolstoy wrote, 'Crosby, like all Americans, is proper, not stupid, but all show.' Doubting Crosby's sincerity, he advised him to read Henry George, and was pleasantly surprised to learn subsequently that Crosby had founded the League of Social Reform in America and was stumping the country on behalf of George's theories.[16] Tolstoy also read and admired Edward Carpenter's books and wrote an introduction to his *Modern Science*.[17]

More germane to our present purpose are the activities of J. C. Kenworthy, who was a member of the Committee of the Humanitarian League from 1894-5 to about 1898. Kenworthy, a Methodist minister, came upon *My Religion* and *What Then Shall We Do*, in America about 1890. 'I was surprised and glad' he admitted with some naivety, 'to find a mind working on my own lines, but in advance, with a wider and maturer discussion.'[18] He became an enthusiast and started a Brotherhood Church in Croydon, and a

Brotherhood Publishing Company to publish his own and other works on Tolstoy. The master gave him the right to publish an English translation of any of his new works, although owing to Tolstoy's freedom in disposing of his copyrights it is doubtful whether this was legally valid. Kenworthy visited Tolstoy in 1895,[19] and subsequently published several pamphlets on his visit and the influence of Tolstoy's teaching, all reprinted in the *Life and Works*.

Kenworthy preceded Arthur St. John as Editor of the *Midland Herald*. Kenworthy's retirement from the post in June 1902 followed a prosecution for perverting the course of justice in that he had published an article 'Justice in Wolverhampton' criticising the conduct of the police in the prosecution of one of their cases. He was found technically guilty and bound over, but the matter seems to have been a local *cause célébre* in Bilston, where the paper was published, and his house was attacked by a mob of enraged citizens, apparently without any serious damage ensuing.

St. John took over the paper in August 1902 and owned and edited it until June 1905 when it was in its death throes. It finally died in September 1906. He was an ardent Tolstoyan. He was born in Jallundar, India, in 1862 of military stock, but his parents soon returned to England. In early manhood he joined the Inniskillen Fusiliers and served in various places in Europe and the Far East. While returning from Burma on sick leave he read Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God is Within You*. 'It had so tremendous an effect upon me that within two or three months I had given up my commission and found myself launched out in the world with no job and no capabilities for any work other than soldiering. I was clear about very little but among the very little was Tolstoy's dictum that if you want to work for peace there was no use in preparing for war.'[20]

He first got into touch with what Semple refers to as 'a group of idealists at Croydon' which was presumably Kenworthy's Brotherhood Church, and then worked in a colony in Westmoreland. In 1897 he went on a special mission to Russia to convey money raised by the Friends for the relief of the Doukhobors, a sect then much persecuted. He first went to Tolstoy who was a strong, though critical, supporter of the sect,[21] and then continued on to the Caucasus to visit them. He was arrested and deported, but subsequently aided their emigration to Canada.[22] He returned to England and married in 1903 and we next hear of him as editor of the *Midland Herald*, the pages of which testify to his Tolstoyan views.

I quote from a statement of policy in the first issue under his direction: 'Perhaps we shall find it (the paper's policy) summed up and expressed at once broadly and concisely in one word—life . . . We wish to live amongst our neighbours that both their lives and ours may become brighter and fuller.' Subsequently each editorial was headed in black type: 'The Editor hopes that everyone who contributes to, or co-operates in the production of this paper will recognise his or her own responsibility and try to do himself or herself justice.' This was replaced in April 1904 by the more prosaic '*The Midland Herald* is printed by electric power.' A leader on 30.8.02, asks 'Are we Alive?' and goes on to say that being alive means 'living to give.' 'Are we living our best?' it asks, 'Is Bilston alive?' Following issues contain articles about the Doukhobors and extracts from Tolstoy.

The paper reveals St. John as a rather impractical but very sincere reformer, in the humanist tradition of anti-blood sports, anti-cruelty to animals, and to criminals. His interest in the latter seems to have dated from his period of newspaper proprietorship. The paper carried a series of articles by 'Investigator' (who, one suspects, is Lex of *Humanity*—W. H. S. Monck, Chief Registrar in Bankruptcy in the King's Bench Division, Dublin)[23] exposing miscarriages of justice. These articles, together with some of St. John's own, were gathered together in book form in 1904.[24] The contrast between the factual articles of 'Investigator' and those of St. John is considerable. St. John concludes, for instance, that what is needed is:

1. the cultivation of kindlier feelings to all.
2. criminals to be regarded as infirm, or those who have not had a fair education. They must not be punished but helped to remedy their deficiences.
3. penal institutions should be turned into hospitals and educational establishments.
4. criminals should themselves determine who should go and how long for.
5. the causes of crime appearing in social disorder and anti-social conduct should be tackled.

This is the typical combination of right ends with impractical ideas which marked many Tolstoyan converts.

Captain St. John next appears in 1907 as a founder and first secretary of the Penal Reform League. The name of Mrs. Cobden Sanderson,[25] a lady who had been on the Committee of the Criminal

Law and Prisons Department of the Humanitarian League since 1898, is also associated with the founding of the P.R.L. St. John was himself on this committee from 1908 onwards and was on the General Committee from 1911. The Penal Reform League was obviously an attempt to combine the new humanist spirit with the insight into prison conditions gained from the experiences of the suffragettes. It also embodied a widespread dissatisfaction with the existing major reformist organisation, the Howard Association. The Humanitarian League had for some time been out of sympathy with the views of the Howard Association (founded in 1866) as expressed by its secretary William Tallack. They thought him, justly enough, to be reactionary and, possibly with less justice, too much in the pocket of the Prison Commission and the Home Office.[26] Tallack resigned in 1901 and was succeeded by Edward Grubb, an active Quaker, who later became a leading writer on Quaker thought. He in turn was succeeded by Thomas Holmes who had been a court missionary. There is no evidence regarding the attitude of the Humanitarian League to the Howard Association after Tallack left, but it is noteworthy that Tallack remained a member of the Executive Committee of the Association, though frequently absent through ill health, until his death in 1908. One may assume that the Howard Association still failed in 1907 to measure up to the ideals of St. John.

According to Mrs. Pankhurst, the Penal Reform League was formed at a 'welcome' breakfast given to Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Despard on their release from prison, and she suggests that the immediate cause was the case of Millie March, a girl of 18 committed for perjury, whom Mrs. Pankhurst met in the prison hospital and for whose release she subsequently agitated.[27] At the First Annual General Meeting of the League, T. R. Bridgewater, a member of the Executive Committee of the Romilly Society, gives the impression that the League was formed by some of those present at a meeting at which Mrs. Cobden Sanderson spoke on 'Punishment.'[28] Be this as it may, it is clear from what has been said above that Captain St. John's interest in penal reform was a long standing one.

The objects of the P.R.L. were stated in 1908 in its *Monthly Record* to be:

'To obtain and circulate accurate information concerning criminals and their treatment.'

'To promote a sound public opinion on the subject.'

'To help to bring about a more complete and effective co-operation between the public and public servants for the reclamation of criminals by a curative and educative system.'

The main plank in the early years was a National Probation Commission, the idea being derived from the Massachusetts system, although other reforms in the probation service, and the appointment of women to positions of authority in the prison service were also canvassed. We have no space here to follow the activities of the League, but it seems to have done useful though limited work in expounding reformative methods especially in relation to juvenile delinquents. Captain St. John remained its secretary until 1918 when he was succeeded by Miss Margery Fry, under whose guidance the Penal Reform League merged with the Howard Association in 1921 to become the Howard League for Penal Reform. Since the appointment of Cecil Leeson to the Secretaryship of the Association in 1916 their policies had been much more akin, as Leeson had been a pioneer probation officer in Birmingham and was also particularly interested in the reform of the probation service.[29]

Captain St. John subsequently retired to Bonnybridge in Scotland and spent his retirement working on a book, published in 1939 under the title *Why Not Now?* It is a utopia in the form of a dream, in which St. John visits the London of the future, populated by his ideal people. He envisages a community living in constant and rapt awareness of 'the Eternal,' in perfect amity with a world-wide Brotherhood, taking great pleasure in song and dance, drawing their inspiration from 'the silence,' a wordless communion leading to spontaneous expression of opinion, similar to the Quaker 'testimony.' This has been brought about mainly by one man who believes, as St. John obviously believes, that the way to achieve the ideal is to find a measure of agreement between all sides, and proceed from there to the next agreed action in widening circles. Thus the founder first persuades a constituency to put him up as unopposed candidate and eventually by his obvious moral superiority, persuades both parties in Parliament to agree upon a programme of reform. The reforms are: the payment of a national dividend to everyone, i.e. an income paid through the banks; extension of the educational system with particular emphasis on the provision of schools in park-like surroundings, and the founding of agricultural settlements; unilateral disarmament; and self-government for India. All this is met with acclaim, both here and abroad, and a major social revolution takes place.

33

The book contains much of the Tolstoyan and humanitarian background combined with similar ideas, probably derived from the Friends. The emphasis on the influence of the country setting and of the simple co-operative community close to the soil—by no means an original theme—is typical of the approach, and the general vagueness and impracticability of the reforms to be made is redolent of Tolstoy. St. John, however, lacks both the analytical power and the ability of the master to write compellingly and the impact of the book is, therefore, slight.

The relation between Tolstoy and the next penal reformer with whom we are concerned, was just as immediate, but less personal. Stephen Hobhouse was the son of Henry and Margaret Hobhouse. Henry Hobhouse was an expert on local government and an eminent politician and Margaret was one of the Potter sisters. Stephen was thus in close contact with an illustrious circle of people. Beatrice Webb was his aunt, Theresa Cripps, mother of Stafford, was another aunt, L. T. Hobhouse was his uncle, Lord Arthur Hobhouse his great uncle.

Stephen's early life followed the familiar pattern; preparatory school, Eton, Oxford.[30] He lived the life to be expected of the son of a country squire, although he does not seem to have been particularly athletic and was more inclined to academic pursuits. At Eton he belonged to the Eton College Rifle Volunteers and eventually became a colour-sergeant, his selection as one of the guard outside Westminster Abbey on the death of Gladstone in 1898 testifying to his enthusiasm and efficiency. On going up to Oxford in 1900 he immediately joined the Cyclist Corps of the University Rifle Volunteers, but by 1902 his patriotic enthusiasm was beginning to be shaken by the arguments against and exposures of Government cruelty made by the pro-Boers. This section was led by an uncle, Leonard Courtney, M.P., and included Kate, his wife, another of the Potter sisters, Leonard Hobhouse, his sister Emily[31] and Lord Arthur Hobhouse and his wife: 'My patriotic ardour for the British cause began to be somewhat shaken by knowing the views of these six esteemed relatives and hearing some of them declaim against the war as unjust.'[32]

Such doubts paved the way for the 'enlightenment,' to use Stephen's word for it. 'I was now in my twenty-first year and in the fifth term of my Oxford career; more vigorous and self-confident in my body, mind, and spirit than in early years, enjoying most of my

life; with a fairly comfortable form of religion; with some pleasant experiences of the world behind me and of comfortable privileged life amongst the moneyed and cultured upper or upper middle class into which I had been born; and with the anticipation of much more such life to come.'[33] He was doing well at Oxford, and had every prospect of one day taking his father's place as country squire and administrator; he had few doubts of his religion and was a practising member of the Church of England; he was a trusted member of the Rifle Corps and enjoyed its activities greatly. He had doubts but they were not, he thought, serious ones.

In January 1902, he casually bought from a bookstall at Oxford railway station a little green covered book of sixty-four pages entitled *How I came to Believe* by Leo Tolstoy (generally known as *A Confession* or *My Confession*). 'The immediate effects of *My Confession* were inwardly catastrophic. The whole of it was read through with eager interest the evening after it was bought, and its message, with some of the remembered words of Jesus, effected a sudden and dramatic conversion in my thinking, much of which remains permanent and valued to this day, nearly fifty years later.'[34] The effect was fourfold: he became a pacifist; he resolved that he could never accept the position of wealthy landlord; he ceased to be a member of the Church of England and eventually became a Friend; and he resolved to avoid all sexual or erotic desires.

It is difficult to believe that his conversion was quite as unheralded as Stephen Hobhouse says and possibly he has underestimated the extent of his doubts about his way of life, but the operative instruments of his change of heart were undoubtedly the persuasive words of Tolstoy. They led him to read some Quaker works, although he did not become a Friend until four years later. It is of interest, that the only Friends he knew in his early years were Sir Edward Fry and his family.[35] One of the family was Margery Fry.

That the effect was permanent, however suddenly it may have come upon him, is well documented by his subsequent actions. After graduation he spent some time doing social work, but the real test came upon the outbreak of war when he refused to accept the possible benefits of his family influence to gain exemption from war service, or to claim it on the grounds of work he was doing for enemy aliens. He refused to appeal from his Tribunal or be medically examined, with the result that he was court-martialled and given six months' imprisonment, which he served in Wormwood

Scrubs. On his release, he was returned to his unit, again refused to obey orders and this time was given two years' hard labour which he spent in Exeter prison. In prison he had some privileges as a conscientious objector but rebelled against the silence rule. As a result, although in failing health, he spent the last four months of his sentence almost entirely in his cell. His ill health led to his release in December 1917.

His mother, Margaret Hobhouse, was deeply concerned over her son's experiences and it was probably due to this that she became closely associated with prison reform and joined the Penal Reform League. She published a pamphlet *I Appeal Unto Caesar* in 1917 based on the experience of conscientious objectors in prison. Stephen subsequently published his own experiences.[36]

The major result, however, was that Stephen was drawn into the investigation of the prison system by the Prison System Enquiry Committee. It is not quite clear how far this Committee was sponsored by the Webbs but they undoubtedly had a hand in it, the idea being to produce a modern counterpart to their historical study of the prison system.[37] They brought this up-to-date to establish the link.[38]

'In the autumn of 1918 at the suggestion of my aunt (i.e. Beatrice Webb), who doubtless thought (but mistakenly) that it would be a kindness to me as well as an advantage to the Enquiry,'[39] Stephen Hobhouse became Secretary to the Committee. This meant that in reality the work devolved entirely upon him and his assistant Arthur Creech Jones, another ex-prisoner conscientious objector, since the Committee, though influential, was not intended to be a working one. Its Chairman, incidentally, was a one time member of the Salt circle, Sir Sidney Olivier. Stephen's health broke down after a year and the rest of the work was done by yet another ex-prisoner conscientious objector, Fenner Brockway.[40] The final Report contains chapters by both Stephen Hobhouse and Fenner Brockway.[41]

The Report appeared in 1922.[42] It was a valiant attempt to give a detailed and critical evaluation of what the prison system was really like from the inside. It was based partly upon questionnaires completed by 50 officials (before the Prison Commission sent round a circular forbidding the disclosure of information in this way), 22 visiting magistrates, 34 agents of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies, and others closely connected with the prisons, and 290 ex-prisoners, mainly conscientious objectors.

To rely on evidence of this kind, particularly that of ex-prisoners is, of course, liable to give rise to uncertainty, if not bias, and the Report can be criticised on these grounds. Nevertheless, an attempt was made to be objective, although the text is undoubtedly critical. The criticism it makes is a fundamental one for it accuses the system of failing to take into account the individuality of the criminal; of failing to see him as a person and therefore failing to attempt to deal with him in a way consistent with human dignity. Thus the silence rule, and restrictive regulations about shaving, going to the toilet, and various other aspects of prison life were heavily criticised. Furthermore, by judicious quotation from official documents and an analysis of the population, they tried to show that the objects of the system, as seen by the Chairman of the Prison Commission, Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, were not primarily reformative, but deterrent.

Such criticisms were well founded. Sir Evelyn, himself a great reformer in his early days,[43] had much of the old school of thought about him. It comes out not so much in what he writes about the place of reform in prison, but in the defences he makes of practice in his day, and the kind of language he uses. Take this passage for instance:

'The object of the regulations is not to impose a strict law of silence, which is reasonably deemed "unnatural," but to prevent harmful and profitless gossip and intercommunication between prisoners which is not only dangerous from the point of view of order and discipline, but as furnishing a fertile source of corruption. Those who declaim against the law of silence in the same breath denounce the prison regime as a "manufactory of criminals" or as a "nursery of crime." In what way could criminals be better manufactured than by allowing a free intercourse, where evil designs and plottings, both for mischief inside and concerted crime outside the prison, would be fostered and encouraged?'[44]

The language ('harmful and profitless gossip,' 'evil designs and plottings') and the attitude are far more redolent of Tallack's *Penological and Preventive Principles* (1889), a widely read book by the Secretary of the Howard Association, than of the reformers of 1921. The prison system had undoubtedly got out of step with the 'humanitarian' feelings which the League had heralded and the war had helped to disseminate.

Unfortunately for the book, but fortunately for the reformers, it was out of date almost as soon as it was published. Ruggles-Brise

retired and was succeeded in 1921 by Maurice Waller, who demonstrated an entirely new outlook soon confirmed by the addition of Alec Paterson to the Commission. The first Report of the Prison Commissioners subsequent to this,[45] showed a new spirit and recorded a number of changes in routine all directed towards that recognition of what Ruggles-Brise called the 'reversionary rights of humanity.' It was hailed by the reformers as a new departure as indeed it was.[46] How much this was due to their own efforts is impossible to say. The Report, however, epitomised their criticisms with complete finality.

Stephen Hobhouse looks back on the production of the Report as the culmination of his active career. Subsequently he was never fit enough for anything but part-time literary work, although he did for some years try to work as a jobbing gardener, or to grow vegetables for sale. The rest of his life has been spent in retirement as a semi-invalid and he does not seem to have taken any further active part in prison reform. The influence of Tolstoy remained with him, however. In the Epilogue to his autobiography he writes of the 'beliefs which I had learnt to accept through my four chief teachers and interpreters of Christ—Tolstoy and Gandhi, William Law and Jacob Boehme.'[47]

The effect of Tolstoy's thought in these two cases was undoubtedly of a general nature. Tolstoy himself is hardly concerned with penal reform in any real sense. His system involves wholesale rejection of the apparatus of justice and the treatment of criminals, not their reform. The power he wielded came not so much from any specific remedies which one might extract from his writings, but from the impact of his overwhelming rejection of all kinds of social standards and institutions which prevent direct contact with the individual soul, and his great belief in the fundamental goodness and worth of every individual, particularly in so far as this refers to the poor and oppressed. His complex and painstaking examination of the scriptures may have satisfied the intellect, but the major appeal was the heart searchings of *A Confession* and the stories of poverty and cruelty of *What Then Must We Do*. For those who also had crippling doubts about the source and use of the riches they enjoyed, and who felt the need for dedication and for a simple aim in a complex and bewildering life, Tolstoy provided a philosophy persuasive in its autobiographical content, compelling from the power of his pen. That it was vague and eminently unrelated to

any serious solution of the problems concerned did not matter. It was the mainspring which, once wound, set the clock ticking.

It is clear, however, that the effect of revelation as it burst upon St. John and Hobhouse, must be set in a wider sphere of changing attitudes. The humanitarians may have given a name to the movement (a name which did not live) and may have provided a number of rather extreme examples of its application, but the change preceded them. Dr. Grunhut in a survey of the changes in the attitude to punishment in the 19th century,[48] points out that individualisation in treatment had been progressing apace since mid-century. Individualisation as a theoretical concept seems to have come into favour as a result of the Irish system of progressive stages introduced by Sir Walter Crofton in the 1850's. In spite of influential opposition in some quarters,[49] the innovation was much applauded not only in this country but abroad. It had little effect, however, upon the English system in general. Although transportation had been succeeded by a series of progressive stages, the constructive influences of an educational kind, combined with some specific social work which Crofton and his admirers had suggested, were not associated with these changes.

Such individualisation, though accepting the principle of variation in treatment to meet the variety of problems presented, did not go far in this direction. The reformatory movement in the United States attempted to provide a more constructive programme and a better general atmosphere in which the prisoner could expand his own capacities for good, but the ideals of Elmira[50] soon foundered under the weight of overcrowding and political limitations upon prison labour, and its imitators failed to copy the constructive side of the work. In England there had been a strong trend towards the separate treatment of children and adolescents, which rose to a peak in the recommendations of the Gladstone Report[51] and the founding of the Borstal system. The Gladstone Report marked also the official acceptance of the constructive aim of imprisonment and aftercare, 'The system,' said the Committee, 'should be made more elastic, more capable of being adapted to the special cases of individual prisoners. Prison discipline and treatment should be more effectually designed to maintain, stimulate or awaken the higher susceptibilities of prisoners and to develop their moral instincts, to train them in orderly and industrial habits and whenever possible, to turn them out of prison better men and women, both physically and morally,

than when they came in.'[52]

Was this not what Tolstoy and the humanitarians wanted? The Report is quoted with great approbation in an article by Rev. W. D. Morrison[53] in which he is combating the doctrines of Sir Robert Anderson, then Assistant Commissioner of Police for the Metropolitan Area. Morrison goes on to say that the Gladstone recommendations were embodied in the Prison Act of 1898. This is, of course, true only in a general sense; one cannot bring about a change in the treatment of prisoners by legislation alone. The new prison regime abandoned unproductive work and the extremes of segregation, but it retained for adult offenders the implicit thesis that those reformative influences which could be brought to bear were unlikely to have much effect, and that the main aims were to deter and to prevent contamination. Reformative influences were to remain very much subordinate to these ends. Thus the spirit of the Gladstone Report failed to carry the day completely whilst making considerable breaches in the defences.

Yet reformers and the objects of their attack were at one in their general approach. Both believed that the causes of crime were social and must be removed; Du Cane speaks of causes 'which often have their origin in our social condition, and more often in the absence and weakening of those moral restraints by means of which society is kept together,'[54] but most of those upon his side of the argument would place less emphasis upon the social genesis of crime, than would the reformers. Both sides believed that any treatment of prisoners must have some reformative elements, and the less extreme reformers would have acceded to some deterrent elements also. The implicit assumption of the reformers, that criminals were fundamentally good and that proper methods of dealing with them could extract this goodness, a view which the Tolstoyans held in an extreme form, was at variance with the opinions of their opponents, based on much more experience it must be admitted, that some criminals, at least, were evil and an unmitigated nuisance to society and should be dealt with severely.

Sir Robert Anderson, subject of much abuse from humanitarians (to which he replied trenchantly enough) represents this latter view with great clarity. He believed that various reforms needed to be made to reduce the amount of crime, and that, in crimes against property, about which he mainly writes, there are two classes of criminal, the 'temporary' and the 'professional.' The judicial system

should be directed to ensuring that the best possible judicial enquiry was made before sentence in order to distinguish between these two classes, and the first should then be treated sympathetically and the second most severely.[55]

Such views clearly owe something to the doctrines of the Charity Organisation Society, built upon the need for investigation before relief was given. The general attitude also is not unlike that of the Society. It is difficult to express briefly the views of an organisation in which there was a wide variety of opinion, but the terms in which its leading members write, and its corporate actions, demonstrate that there was always a distinction made between the deserving, and the undeserving. Loch, in his introduction to *Methods of Social Advance*,[56] clearly distinguishes between those to whom help must be given, and 'vagrants' for whom he suggests 'a period of laborious and wholesome detention' and Helen Bosanquet goes even further: 'In the first place,' she says in advice directed at the Lady Bountiful, 'we must put away the idea that we can save human beings—whether poor or rich—from the natural consequences of sin and vice and idleness; I do not say that we cannot with patience make them less sinful and vicious and idle, but where the seed has been sown the crop must be reaped, and any attempt to break the connection between moral failings and their natural punishment will retard our social progress indefinitely.'[57] Later she gives some examples of how the Charity Organisation Society would deal with cases of pensioners, in which the principle of relegation to the poor law as a punishment for moral failings is clearly evident.[58] Indeed, the first principle of good social work which she lays down is 'We must avoid encouraging bad habits.'[59] Mrs. Bosanquet is an extremist but the principle was there.

Miss Violet Markham, in a controversy with the C.O.S. in 1912 over attitudes to State action, criticised their individualist attitude and their lack of concern for the social causes of poverty, to which Mr. Bailward replied that 'there must be some principle of limitation in public relief as the only alternative to general State dependence,' thus demonstrating both the C.O.S.'s fear that State action would undermine individual independence, and its preoccupation with problems of relief.[60]

Francis Peek, first Chairman of the Howard Association, is clearly at one with Loch, Mrs. Bosanquet, and Bailward,[61] and Tallack's abandonment of all hope for prisons and his concentration on extra-

mural treatments is founded on the same idea.[62] The old school lived in an era when 'sin' and 'depravity' were words which had force and meaning, and when the upper classes made no bones about the duties of the rich in 'leading' the poor to better things. Their attitude was a compound of insistence upon the virtue of self-help, and on the duty of all to help those who were incapable of it— admirable sentiments in themselves but the interpretation implied acceptance of the social and economic system as it was. Moreover, in spite of repeated statements to the contrary, there was an implicit belief that the rich were competent to reward and to punish the poor, as children might be rewarded and punished. The revulsion from this is seen in the socialist belief in the mutability of the social and economic system by State action, and in their emphasis upon the effects of the system on personality. If environment kept a man in want he could not be responsible; remove those pressures which produced this effect and his natural sound and fine nature would take over.

Blatchford, in fact, denies the existence of sin, and insists upon the lack of responsibility of the criminal for his actions. If his heredity and his environment are to blame, how can we condemn and punish him? Even the most savage criminals are merely atavisms and we cannot blame them for that. Human law classifies people as good and bad, but they should really be treated as fortunate and unfortunate.[63] Where the Tolstoyans differed from this was in rejecting the State, and in substituting for it the power of religious feeling as the instrument of change. The humanitarians encompassed both camps, but their emphasis upon the cruelty of man to man led them rather to insist upon the message of fellowship and hope in both socialism and religious conversion, rather than the mechanics of social reform. 'The real value of the modern Socialist movement,' said Edward Carpenter, 'has not lain so much in its actual constructive programme as (1) in the fact that it has provided a text for a searching criticism of the old society and of the lives of the rich, and (2) the fact that it has enshrined a most glowing and vital enthusiasm towards the realisation of a new society.'[64]

What was the function of these Tolstoyan and humanitarian idealists in criminal reform? It is easy to dismiss them as the woolly-minded old men of the sea burdening the more staid and realistic reformers. They may often have figured in this role; but they also performed an essential function in providing much of the drive

which carried the movement forward. The Humanitarian League was not founded to agitate for a Criminal Court of Appeal nor for the abolition of flogging, nor was the Penal Reform League formed to obtain the wider use of probation (for that matter the C.O.S. did not come into being with a specific programme). They derived their impetus from an explicit dissatisfaction with the system, and in the case of the first two, an implicit stereotype of human personality which varied greatly from that current at the time. Tolstoyan or otherwise, the generating impulse came first, and it produced the willingness to give time and money to set up a formal organisation. In particular, the money tended to come from those who sympathised with the general attitude rather than with specific objects. Having been set up, the organisation became a platform for the experts with ideas, Dr. Hawksley in the case of the C.O.S., W. D. Morrison, Joseph Collinson, and W. H. Monck in the case of the criminal reform activities of the Humanitarian League, and, less obviously, Miss Bartlett and J. Courtenay Lord, in the Penal Reform League. (It is not clear where the P.R.L.'s. policy came from but it was strongly influenced by the women's organisations.)

The measure of success of these organisations, and of the Hobhouse and Brockway Report, is not so much that they attained their specific objects, which they sometimes did, but that they (and Tolstoy) were more nearly right in their initial analysis of the needs and responses of human personality. If it is unrealistic to think one can divide the underprivileged and criminal neatly into sheep and goats, it is, of course, equally unrealistic to pretend that there are no goats. But the reforming idealists were right in detecting many more sheep than officialdom suspected; and they saw that there was more profit to be got from shepherding than from herding. It is this which makes them significant in the history of penal reform.

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[1] *A Confession*. p. 15 (the references are to the *Collected Works*, edited by Aylmer Maude, Oxford (1928).

[2] ibid. p. 56.

[3] *What I Believe*, Vol. XI, p. 324.

[4] *What I Believe*, Vol. XI, p. 349. The last phrase might well apply to the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Capital Punishment that the application of the death penalty should be left in the discretion of the jury.

[5] See in particular the essays collected in *Social Evils and their Remedy*, ed. H. C. Matheson, Methuen, 1915. Section on Government.

[6] Grubb, E: *What is Quakerism?* 2nd Edition, 1919, p. 127.

[7] This attitude was common amongst Utopian socialists. See Laidler, H. W.: *Social Economic Movements*. Routledge, 1949, p. 111.

[8] On the implications of less eligibility see Mannheim, H.: *The Dilemma of Penal Reform*, 1939.

[9] On Salt see Winster, S.: *Salt and his Circle*, Hutchinson, 1951 and Salt's *Seventy Years among the Savages*, Allen & Unwin, 1921 and *Company I Have Kept*, Allen & Unwin, 1930.

[10] *Seventy Years among the Savages*, p. 61.

[11] ibid. p. 11.

[12] Morrison, W. D.: *Crime and its Causes*, Sonnensschein, 1891.

[13] E.g. Johnson, R.: *I was in Prison*, 1893. Hopwood, C. H.: *A Plea for Mercy to Offenders*, 1894. Montgomery, H. J. B.: *How to Reform our Prison System*, 1907. Hopwood later became one of the founders of the Romilly Society.

[14] Winster, op. cit., p. 117.

[15] ibid. p. 116.

[16] Simmons, E. J.: *Leo Tolstoy*, Lehmann, 1949. p. 554.

[17] ibid. p.p. 574 and 606.

[18] Kenworthy, J. C.: *Tolstoy, His Life and Works*, Scott, 1902. Kenworthy calls the second work *What to do*, but presumably this is the same one.

[19] Simmons, op. cit., p. 571.

[20] Quoted by Dugald Semple in the Introduction to St. John's *Why Not Now*, Daniels, 1939. Also based on an obituary in the *Falkirk Herald*, 19.2.38.

[21] See letters in *Essays and Letters*, ed. Aylmer Maude, 1904 and Maude A: *A Peculiar People—The Doukhobors*, 1904.

[22] ibid. p. 30. Elkington, J.: *The Doukhobors*, Philadelphia, 1903, pp. 160, 166 and 201.

[23] *Humanity*, September—October, 1915. The style of Lex's writings in *Humanity* is very similar and he must have been known to St. John.

[24] 'Investigator' and A. St. John *Crime and Common Sense*. Daniel, 1904.

[25] Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, daughter of Richard Cobden, was a suffragette. She was one of those imprisoned after a demonstration in the lobby of the House of Commons in October, 1906. Pankhurst, E. S.: *The Suffragette Movement*, Longmans, 1931, p. 228.

[26] *Humanity*, January, 1896, February, 1896, October, 1898, December, 1900, December, 1901 and Salt, H. S.: *Seventy Years Among the Savages*. op. cit., p. 142 all contain critical remarks directed against Tallack.

[27] ibid. p. 255.

[28] Penal Reform League *Monthly Record*, Vol. I, No. I, January, 1909, p. 4.

[29] See his book *The Probation System*, 1914.

[30] What follows is mainly from his autobiography *Forty Years and an Epilogue*, Clarke, 1951.

[31] Emily Hobhouse's 'Report of a visit to the concentration camps of women and children in the Cape and Orange River Colonies,' 1901 and her continued advocacy of this cause led to much criticism of the Goverment's conduct of the war.

[32] *Forty Years and an Epilogue*, p. 53.

[33] ibid. p. 67.

[34] ibid. p. 61.

[35] ibid. p. 64.

[36] *An English Prison from Within*, Allen & Unwin, 1919.

[37] *English Prisons Under Local Government*, Longmans, 1922.

[38] *Beatrice Webb's Diaries* 1912-24 (ed. M. Cole) Longman's, 1952, p. 217.

[39] *Forty Years and an Epilogue*, p. 175.

[40] See Brockway, F.: *Inside the Left*, Allen & Unwin, 1942, Ch. XIII.

[41] *Beatrice Webb's Diaries*, p. 214.

[42] *English Prisons Today*, Longmans, 1922.

[43] He was appointed in 1895.

[44] *The English Prison System*, MacMillan, 1921, p. 8.

[45] *Report for 1921-22*, Cmd. 1761.

[46] *Annual Report* of the Howard League for Penal Reform 1922-3, p. 7 et seq. This organisation was formed in 1921 by a merger of the Howard Association and Penal Reform League.

[47] p. 204. On William Law see S. Hobhouse's *William Law and 18th Century Quakerism*, 1927, and *Selected Mystical Writings of William Law*, 1938. On Jacob Boehme see Martensen, H. L.: *Jacob Boehme*. New edition edited by S. Hobhouse, 1949.

[48] Grunhut, M.: *Penal Reform*, O.U.P. 1948, Ch. V.

[49] Sir Joshua Jebb the extremely influential Surveyor General of Prisons, was against it.

[50] Elmira Reformatory was founded to put these ideas into practice. See Winter, A.: *The New York State Reformatory Elmira*, Wines, F.C.: *Punishment and Reformation*, 1895, Brockway, Z. R.: *Fifty Years of Prison Service*, 1912.

[51] *Report* of the Departmental Committee on Prisons, Cmd. 7702. 1895, (1895 LVI I.)

[52] ibid. p. 8.

[53] 'Spurious Remedies for Crime', *Humane Review*, Vol. II, p. 26. 1901-2.

[54] Du Cane, Sir E.: *The Punishment and Prevention of Crime*, Mac-Millan, 1885, p. 1.

[55] Anderson, Sir R.: *Criminals and Crime*, Nisbet, 1907.

[56] MacMillan, 1904, p. 5.

[57] Bosanquet, H.: *Rich and Poor*, MacMillan, 1896, p.138.

[58] ibid. p. 203.

[59] ibid. p. 187.

[60] *C.O.S. Quarterly* New Series XXXI, January-June, 1912, pp. 128-142. Quoted in Cormack, Una: *The Welfare State*, The Loch Memorial Lecture 1952. Family Welfare Association, 1953, p. 28.

[61] Peek, F.: *The Workless, the Thriftless, and the Worthless*, Isbister 1888.

[62] Tallack, W.: *Penological and Preventive Principles.* 1889.

[63] Blatchford, R.: *Not Guilty. A Defence of the Bottom Dog*, Clarion Press, 1906.

[64] Carpenter, E.: *My Days and Dreams*, Allen & Unwin, 1916, p. 126.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY RESEARCH :
A CRITICISM

J A. Mack

A. *Research into Prevention*

This paper attempts a critical review of research into the causes of delinquency, introducing this main subject with an account of the various attempts at preventive research which have occupied the centre of the stage in recent years. This preventive research is, in brief, an attempt to predict delinquency, or to detect susceptibility to delinquency, in the individual child at an early age. It is necessarily restricted to a comparatively small number of delinquents, the 'hard core' of serious and incorrigible offenders who are thought to be predisposed to offending by constitution or by early malformation of personality. (What proportion these are of the total of serious and incorrigible adult offenders is of course unknown). This research has therefore no direct bearing on the very large and varied collection of less persistent and more casual delinquents. But it can be argued that its indirect bearing on the general problem is considerable. The 'hard core' presents an insuperable problem to those who have to deal with them at whatever point they come under public care, as things are just now. If they could be detected and treated at the earliest possible stage, this would relieve the courts and the approved schools and the Borstals and the prisons—so it is calculated—of a burden which at present obstructs their working out of all proportion to its apparent size. And the benefit to the general public, by the interception and prevention of so much potential loss and violence, would be incalculable.

The most comprehensive work in this field is American—that of Professor Sheldon Glueck and his wife Dr. Eleanor Glueck reported in 1950 in the book *Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency*.[1] They have made an analysis, on the classical lines adopted by Burt[2] a generation earlier, of the characteristics differentiating 500 reformatory boys from 500 carefully matched non-delinquent controls: matched for

47

age, national and ethnic grouping, social and economic circumstances, and general intelligence. This analysis is so exhaustive that its results could be only partially reported in 1950, but one thing attempted and published was the construction of a number of 'prediction tables' or prediction scales, based on those factors which (a) most clearly and distinctly differentiated the delinquents from the controls and (b) could be used to detect proneness to delinquency *at the age of entering school*. Three prediction scales are presented, one based on personality traits as revealed in psychiatric interview, one on character traits as revealed by the Rorschach inkblot test, and the third, called the social prediction scale, based on family relationships and history.

Nothing so elaborate has yet been attempted in Great Britain. But there is a convergence of attention on the prognosis of pathological behaviour tendencies. Some of those neuro-psychiatrists who are developing the technique of electro-encephalography—the recording of the electrical manifestations of the various parts of the brain—are interested in the abnormal indications reported by their instruments in the case of certain types of serious delinquents. If it is true that the electro-encephalograph records constitutional brain abnormality (a professional comment is that there has been more progress made in the use of the recording instrument than in the interpretation of what it records) and if the particular abnormality diagnosed as indicative of delinquency were to be detectable in early life by the instrument, then here would be a predictive mechanism of the first importance to enable us to isolate a small group of serious problem children. The Burden Neurological Institute in Bristol is particularly interested in this work.[3]

A second line of attack is suggested by Bowlby,[4] who calls attention to the factor of maternal deprivation in infancy as a pointer to probable serious impoverishment of personality and proneness to delinquency in later life. The studies he reports suggest that complete deprivation in early infancy of loving care from a mother or maternal figure has profound effects on character development and may entirely cripple the capacity to make good relationships with other people in later life, producing a person incapable of feeling affection, or affectionless character. One notable perversion of character ascribed by Bowlby to this cause is that found in the 'affectionless thief.'

Neither of these suggestions has been embodied in a practical

predictive proposition. The only specific proposal of this kind put
forward in Britain is that of Glover,[5] who submitted to the Royal
Commission on Capital Punishment a 'Method of Prevention of
Pathological Crimes of Violence including Murder,' by screening
the existing school population at the three statutory medical examina-
tions by the addition of psychiatric to physical examination. Alterna-
tively Glover suggests that the screening can be effected with the
co-operation of the .teaching staff, since the potentially violent and
dangerous child is 'one of the most easily detected educational
problems.' This proposal is supported by the assertion that in the
great majority of pathological crimes of violence some indication of
the pathological tendency has been found to exist since childhood.

What value can be attached to the assertion that the potentially
violent and dangerous child is 'one of the most easily detected educa-
tional problems'? The only thoroughgoing attempt to date to test
this claim has yielded a mixed answer. This is the Cambridge-
Somerville Experiment.[6] This venture had as its main object the
testing of what might be called the 'big brother' hypothesis. To do
this it selected two groups of boys at an early age—each group
containing boys expected to become delinquent (difficult boys) and
boys expected to remain non-delinquent (average boys). One of
these matched groups, called the test group, was given the advice
and friendship over a period of years of a personal friend and
counsellor, each counsellor looking after 20 or 30 boys. The other,
the control group, had no such special counselling, although it had
the ordinary resources of the community. We are not here concerned
with the results of the main experiment. What is of interest here
is that the selection from the total boy population of those who were
thought to be potentially delinquent (and the corresponding selection
of the potentially non-delinquent) was carried out on the assumption
that this did not call for any special psychiatric insight (as is implied
in Glover's first alternative) but could be done by three assessors
working on the records and reports made by teachers and social
workers in daily touch with the boys and their families. The result,
as we shall see in some detail later, was a considerable over-
prediction. The committee of three, working blind, scored high in
predicting delinquency but scored low in predicting non-delinquency.

It was to avoid such imprecise forecasting that Sheldon and
Eleanor Glueck devised their three prediction scales. As they say
themselves: ' . . . when the child first begins to display aberrancies

of conduct, it is very difficult to say whether these are the true danger signals of future persistent delinquency or merely transient manifestations of a healthy trying of his wings. Bits of identical behaviour may, at this early stage, be symptomatic of two divergent roads of development.'⁷

What value can we attach to these prediction scales? Bovet, in his review of current inquiries, points out that the Glueck investigations have yet to be tested on a large scale and that their application will probably always present some difficulties and causes of error.⁸ Some tests are now being made, and one test of the Social Prediction Scale will be described later. Of the psychiatric scale, it is pointed out by Gibbens⁹ that the psychiatric enquiries made appear to have been rather perfunctory, and the table of 'personality traits derived from psychiatric interview' is accordingly suspect.

B. *Difficulties of Prediction*

But the difficulty of accepting this work goes deeper. *Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency* reports the most thorough and comprehensive investigations of any yet recorded in this field. Yet it serves mainly to illustrate the weakness of the entire attempt to establish a scientific understanding of personality by the methods of controlled comparison familiar in delinquency research. In the first place this new work overturns some strongly-held convictions. What was certain only yesterday, and is still held as an obvious fact of experience by practical observers nurtured on the psychological theory of yesterday, is now rejected. Take for example the apparently well-established hypothesis that mental dullness (usually in conjunction with emotional instability) is a causal factor in a large proportion of persistent delinquents. It is a matter of fact in this country that delinquency is frequently accompanied by mental dullness—any magistrate or approved school master will subscribe to that. Yet the Gluecks are so certain that there is no significant difference of intelligence between delinquents and non-delinquents that they make general intelligence a constant or matching factor in the planning of their two groups of delinquents and non-delinquent controls. In this they are supported by a strong recent tendency among psychologists and psychiatrists to query the classical correlation between delinquency and low intelligence. The Gluecks also query the notion that there is a causal connection between poor physique and delinquency. A Glasgow study confirms the usual British finding that in fact 'delin-

quency is frequent among boys who are stunted in stature . . . or markedly below weight.'[10] But the Gluecks, measuring their 500 delinquents against the 500 controls, find that in size and weight there is very little difference between the two groups, and what difference there is favours the delinquent. (They call attention also to the fact that the delinquents are more muscular and thickset than the non-delinquents. This they take to support the theories of Sheldon and Hooton[11] that there is a 'delinquent' type of physical constitution, but this opens up a controversy into which we do not propose to enter). It follows from these American-British differences that even if better educational provision is made for the educationally handicapped child, and even if there comes about a general improvement in the physique of British children (as is actually happening) we should not be surprised if the volume of delinquency remains unaffected.

In the second place this new work, for all its record-breaking comprehensiveness, leaves a good deal out. In some respects it was out of date between completion and publication. For example, no attention is paid to the factor of maternal deprivation in infancy. The use of the electro-encephalograph was initiated but abandoned. It was 'found difficult to apply and might arouse suspicion among the children and their parents.'[12] The psychiatric investigation, as we have seen, was not very thorough. It would appear from all this that a number of important potential diagnostic factors have been ignored.

Two main questions are raised by this whole attempt at prediction at the pre-delinquent stage. The first is practical and ethical. In view of the tendency to over-prediction using ordinary common-sense methods, and the wide margin of error in the more precise prediction-scale method, would we be justified in exposing the children in the schools to a general screening? What margin of error would be justified? Is it expedient that even one child should be wrongly labelled, by deliberate social policy?

The second question is one of fundamental theory. The underlying assumption of the procedure is that delinquency can be detected before it develops: this implies that delinquency in its more serious forms is a developing character disorder, a matter of personality and behaviour disturbance, a psychological state in which the delinquent is at odds with himself and with his social group. Stott identifies delinquency with emotional breakdown. 'Delinquent breakdown,'

he says, 'is an escape from an emotional situation which for the particular individual with the various conditionings of his background becomes at least temporarily unbearable.'[13] And it is clear to the outside observer that the psychologists and psychiatrists have held the field in this country in recent years with the view that the 'real' or 'typical' delinquent is a victim of psychic conflict. But is this true in fact?

The answer is that while it may be true of a great many of those delinquents who have been subjected to intensive psychiatric and psychological examination in recent years in this country, it is not true of a great many other serious delinquents who have hitherto been little observed, except in U.S.A. These are the children brought up in communities in which criminal behaviour is approved behaviour. These communities or localities are not numerous, but they exhibit what might be described as 'normal delinquency' in a highly developed form. In short it is possible for a delinquent, who may develop into a hardened offender, to be a thoroughly healthy individual. As Sutherland says: 'In an area where the delinquency rate is high, a boy who is sociable, gregarious, active and athletic is very likely to come into contact with other boys in his neighbourhood, learn delinquent behaviour from them and become a gangster. In the same neighbourhood the psychopathic boy who is isolated, introvert, and inert may remain at home, but become acquainted with the other boys in the neighbourhood and not become delinquent.'[14] It is apparent from this that prevention of serious delinquency in normal boys in a delinquent neighbourhood will not take the shape of individual prediction and anticipation.

The chief objection, however, to the doctrine that persistent delinquency is a pathological condition, due to constitutional defect or to certain events and circumstances in the early upbringing of the child, is that it pays too little attention to the influence of the events and circumstances of later childhood and adolescence. For delinquency is a way of behaving, and like any other way of behaving is learned from the people around and particularly from those most admired and looked up to by the child or the youth. It is true that the advocates of 'prediction and prevention in the individual case' do not assert that the factors which they stress are factors producing delinquency. These factors (constitutional defect, separation from mothers in infancy, etc.) produce, they say, a predominant *susceptibility* to delinquency, which may be either encouraged or counter-

acted by the events of later life. But why should this be a susceptibility to *delinquency*? There may be some other kind of life-activity which meets the needs of the child equally well. Thus a child growing up in conditions or with propensities which would be labelled delinquent-susceptible by the advocates of delinquency as pathological, might never become delinquent not only because he never comes into contact with a delinquency-teaching environment, but also because he is so made as to develop in quite a different direction. One can call to mind affectionless characters like Dr. Bowlby's affectionless thief who have become instead affectionless dons. In popular language the adjective cold-blooded is applied to murderer and scientist alike. This does not mean that all scientists, or even all murderers, are cold-blooded: only that the reader of thrillers accepts the view that cold-bloodedness can express itself in different ways.

Nevertheless the assumption is still strong that serious delinquency is usually and mainly a product of severe personal emotional disorder, and that conversely where there is no severe emotional disorder but only the influence of a delinquent neighbourhood the resulting delinquency will be usually casual and transitory. See for example the recent excellent study by J. B. Mays: *Growing up in the City,* (Liverpool, 1954). This is the study of 80 delinquent boys, products of a bad neighbourhood, whose delinquency is transitory. The writer goes on to assume, on the strength of the work of Bowlby and Stott, that the influence of the neighbourhood by itself will not produce serious delinquents (pp. 19-20). But even this realistic inquiry has been unable to get through to the kind of boys who do not become club members and do not talk to club leaders. Sutherland's more comprehensive position must be maintained in the absence of conclusive evidence to the contrary.

C. The failure of delinquent-centred research

Two general conclusions may be drawn. First, the attempt to prevent delinquency by anticipating it in the early development of the susceptible individual is taking on an impossible task. Even if agreement could be reached on what to look for in the young child and how to look for it, there would still remain the maze of social and environmental circumstances in the future life of the child, a maze of interpersonal factors which no clinical adviser can anticipate. There is little hope of effective prevention so long as the centre of

attention continues to be the individual child.

Another and more far-reaching conclusion is that delinquency research in its accepted form of delinquent-centred research is getting nowhere. The search for the 'causes of delinquency' is a task of Sisyphus, unending and inconclusive by its very nature. This is a large claim, and might be thought to be refuted by the immense volume of juvenile delinquency literature. But it is borne out by a number of considerations. In the first place, as is now generally accepted, what are called the main causes of delinquency, and are said to be generally agreed, are not causes at all but correlations. In the second place, as I have suggested earlier, not one of these specific correlations is generally agreed. (There is one possible exception to this). In the third place, as I shall argue, this failure to agree is not a mere incident in the early stages of a progressive investigation, but appears to be endemic in the attempt and to call for a redefinition of the problem. Let us take up these three points in order.

The general method used in establishing the so-called causes of delinquency is as follows. A series of delinquents is chosen at random. This series is then compared with a cross-section, or a sample, of similar but non-delinquent persons in the same age-groups, in respect of all personal and social factors thought to be relevant. The usual practice is to seek out a corresponding series of non-delinquents matched with the original series in respect of age and other factors (as indicated above with reference to the Gluecks' latest work), called a control group. As a result of this comparison, long lists of causal factors are abstracted from the individual histories in which they originally occurred, and are regrouped in statistical aggregates according to the order of frequency of occurrence in the series of delinquents as compared with the non-delinquent cross-section or sample.

The trouble about this comprehensive system of comparison is the immense number of distinctive personal and social factors which are relevant to delinquent behaviour. The total of possible factors which may be specially connected with delinquency is limited only by the patience of the investigator and by the number of methods extant and professionally favoured at the time of investigation. Burt sorted out more than 170 distinct conditions, 'every one of them conducive to childish misbehaviour,' at least seventy of these forming, in one instance or another, the principal reason for each child's offence.[15]

54

And had he been equipped to look for more, he would have discovered more, and put a different emphasis on what he did discover.

It is now generally accepted that all that these comparisons can establish is the fact of correlation, the fact that delinquency is frequently accompanied by defective home discipline, and by temperamental instability, and by intellectual disabilities such as backwardness and dullness, and so on. These facts indicate the possibility of a causal connection, which might be confirmed by a crucial experiment, whereby a modification of the alleged cause, other things remaining constant, produces a corresponding modification in the effect. But no such confirmation has been forthcoming, or is easily envisaged, in this complex field of human conduct. All that we can be sure of on the evidence is that any delinquent act, like any non-delinquent act, is a very complicated affair, bound up with a great variety of conditions.

Failing experimental confirmation, an alternative proof of causal connection, as adequate as the case will allow, would be established if repeated observations of delinquents at different times and in different places established the same correlations. But this has not happened. There is too much disagreement on basic method. This is in part a consequence of the rapid development of psychology. New methods of observation and new theoretical insights disclose new classes of facts or throw a new light on facts formerly diregarded. For instance, the electrical manifestations of the brain awaited the elaboration of the electro-encephalograph, an instrument which may help to revive the discredited doctrine of constitutional criminality. A different example is provided by Bowlby. The great advances in child psychology in the last decade were the decisive influence in enabling Bowlby to detect the connection between separation from the mother in infancy and early childhood and behaviour disturbance in later childhood. Burt's 1925 investigation had disclosed a comparatively high incidence of such experiences in the delinquent group: but the correlation had been overlooked.[16] The facts were there to be seen: the theoretical insight required to interpret them had not been developed. We may reasonably expect the invention of new instruments and insights as time goes on, with a consequent increase in the number of personality factors which may be connected with delinquency. And this is to say nothing of the growing array of methods of sociological investigation. Even in the ranks of that majority group of expert opinion which pins its faith on more com-

prehensive and elaborate researches into the multiple causes of delinquency, there is little hope of agreement on any one definite set of causal factors in any measurable space of time.

It might nevertheless be thought that it is only a matter of time before some agreement is reached on the present lines of investigation. It would require a great deal of planning and co-ordination to organise a systematic series of researches capable of including all observable factors. But the advocates of more, and more comprehensive, delinquent-centred research hold that it can be done, that by a co-ordinated study of the greatest possible variety of groups and by adopting every relevant mode of study it should be possible to establish in due course a body of agreed knowledge about the causes of delinquency.

This is a delusion. It ignores various considerations which are often mentioned but seldom taken into account. First, it is impossible to get a true random or representative sample of delinquents. Take two familiar examples. Courts and public child guidance clinics have hitherto dealt almost exclusively with children of parents in the lower income-groups. Delinquent children in the higher income-groups have stronger social defences-in-depth, and are mostly dealt with in other ways. Since most researches are necessarily restricted to delinquents appearing in Courts or public clinics it is not surprising that these researches tend to establish an association between delinquency and the concomitants of poverty. The second unavoidable limitation of the ordinary Court sample is that it is limited to those who are caught, which may explain the preponderance of children of below average intelligence in any group of official delinquents.

These are almost or entirely unavoidable sources of error. The literature of juvenile delinquency is full of criticism of past and current researches for avoidable sins of omission and commission. But this criticism ignores the ugliest and most obvious of all the conditions limiting or nullifying any effective research into delinquency. It is impossible to undertake any such research without having to decide first of all what you mean by delinquency. This is a condition which most text-books and research papers acknowledge in their first paragraph and then go on to ignore. It is nevertheless the case that there is no objective correlate in psychological and social fact for the term 'juvenile delinquent' or 'juvenile delinquency.'

D. *'Juvenile delinquency' is a pseudo-problem*

What is a 'juvenile delinquent?' It is assumed in practice by students of the subject that since there is such a term as 'juvenile delinquent' there must be a corresponding quality or characteristic of personality or behaviour or situation which the term signifies. The familiar analogy with medical practice, implied in the notion of 'treatment,' supports this assumption. It suggests that 'juvenile delinquency' denotes an identifiable disorder or connected series of disorders of a social or personal nature, similar to cholera, or cancer, or tuberculosis in the field of somatic medicine.

But 'juvenile delinquency' is not that kind of term at all. It is a convenient classificatory device bringing together a great variety of pieces of behaviour which have no characteristic in common other than that they will, if detected and dealt with by the police, bring the subject of the behaviour into Court on a criminal charge. If we retain the medical analogy, suspending judgment on its demerits, we might say that these items of youthful behaviour classified as delinquent are symptoms of a variety of disorders with no common aetiology, and varying enormously in degree of seriousness, as though it were to indicate in different cases the social and personal equivalents of cholera, cancer, tuberculosis, rheumatism, bronchitis, gastritis, growing pains, chickenpox, measles, influenza, common cold, and over-eating. Some children misbehave because they want something badly and have no money to pay for it: others express a spirit of adventure in a way which happens to break the law: others fall in with bad company; others compensate by thieving for their inability to fit in at school: others are dishonest or violent because of serious character disorders or more temporary emotional disturbances of the kind classified in textbooks of medical psychology: and so on. The social and personal deficiencies revealed by any large sample of young offenders are so many and various that any thoroughgoing attempt to get behind the delinquents to the background forces at work leads in every direction and to every extremity and corner of the universe of social and personal life. These forces, and the disorders they produce, vary enormously in order of magnitude, of influence and of effect. Some contribute only indirectly to delinquency, some are directly contributive to mild and unimportant sub-divisions of delinquent behaviour, and some contribute directly and indirectly to the production of persistent anti-social behaviour and malformation of character and personality.

The orthodox response of social and individual psychologists in the face of this rich, blooming, buzzing confusion has been to attempt progressively comprehensive researches centred on the individual delinquent, studied in series and aimed at elucidating all the conditions and circumstances relevant to the central fact of delinquency. But this way of responding begs the question. It assumes that 'juvenile delinquency' is a legitimate field of research, a specific focus of related problems. But if instead it is a loose collection, a social-legal ragbag, containing a variety of distinct problems, then the first step in any programme of further research is to sort out these problems *on the basis of existing knowledge.*

Here the existing literature gives a clear indication as to the direction of future research in the first instance. Confirming the findings of the ordinary experience of magistrates and social workers, it shows a broad convergence of attention on family and particularly parent-child relationships, and a growing concentration on parent-child relationships in the early years of the child. No single item even in this field is the object of general agreement. The exception is the vicious or criminal home. The total number of these homes is probably very small, but their influence on the children in them is probably decisive. Apart from this there are big differences of emphasis within the broad field of family relationships. Thus most recent studies emphasize the *emotional* relationship between parents and children: Stott and Bowlby illustrate this emphasis. Burt, and more recently the Gluecks, give formidable scientific support to the traditional stress on the primary need of the child for moral guidance through parental example. There is no conflict here. An adequate account of the matter will give due weight to both of the fundamental non-physical needs of the child, the need for emotional security and the need for moral guidance. One may sum up briefly that although delinquency research has not been successful in defining the causes of delinquency as these operate in the individual, it does yield the broad conclusion that delinquency is a symptom or index of defective family relationships, emotional and moral, in the majority of instances and in the great majority of instances of serious and persistent delinquency.

There is nothing conclusive in this, and it certainly does not constitute a solution of the problem of juvenile delinquency. What is suggested instead is that the problem of juvenile delinquency is a pseudo-problem. It has been created and blown up to its present

dimensions by a number of converging tendencies. The first is the verbal confusion described earlier. The second is the pressure of the official correctional and reformative system, which is willy-nilly preoccupied with treating delinquency as it occurs or in the life of the individual child. The third is the strong individual clinical emphasis on much of modern psychology, preoccupied as it is with problems of personality structure. These powerful forces have combined to maintain and increase the drive towards more and better delinquent-centred research in the face of progressively greater confusion in the explanation of the 'problem.' But the evidence itself points away from the delinquent to the family group, and suggests that further comprehensive research, in addressing itself to the real problem revealed or indicated by delinquency, should undertake in the first instance an investigation of family life and of the forces bearing on the family, particularly while the children are still very young.

This general conclusion is confirmed by various attempts at validation of the Glueck Prediction Scales. These attempts have been confined so far to the Social Prediction Scale. The only one available in detailed form is given by Thompson.[17] This study is based on cases selected from the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study. As already described the predictive methods adopted in that experiment resulted in a considerable over-prediction of delinquency. Thompson set himself to find out whether, had the Glueck Social Prediction Scale been applied when the boys were first selected, the cases would have been *more,* or *less,* accurately designated as pre-delinquents or non-delinquents than they were by the methods actually used. He selected at random a sample of 100 cases, rejecting and re-selecting in such cases as did not have sufficient information relevant to the requirements of the Social Prediction Scale. He then extracted from the records a verbatim copy of all such information. The data thus obtained were submitted to Dr. Eleanor Glueck. She scored the cases, using the prediction table on the basis of the information provided to her, plus the age of the boy and the date of the investigation of the boy's home made by the original Cambridge-Somerville team. She had no other information about the boys, and did not know how they had actually turned out. She was predicting their behaviour as though she and they were ten years younger, and she was also restricting herself to a range of data much more limited than that available to the original study, although adequate to her

own requirements.

The result suggested that the Glueck Social Prediction Scale is a more accurate predictor than were the original committee of three. Of the 100 sample cases selected, 20 had in fact become delinquent and 80 had not. The two methods of prediction were equally effective in predicting the delinquents: each scored 18 out of 20, or 90% correct predictions. But the Glueck predictive method was very much more accurate in the forecasting of good behaviour. Of the 80 who remained non-delinquent the Glueck Scale forecast 73 or 91·3%. The corresponding percentages, on totals slightly less than 80, for the three original predictions were 58·7% (44 out of 75), 53·5% (38 out of 71) and 56·9% (37 out of 65). In short, many were wrongly labelled pre-delinquent in the original experiment. The Glueck Table was much more accurate. Taking the whole sample of 100 boys, delinquents and non-delinquents together, 91 out of the 100 or 91% were correctly predicted by the Glueck Scale. The three original predictors scored respectively, 62 out of 95 (65%), 56 out of 91 (62%) and 54 out of 83 (65%).

These findings are not conclusive. The numbers studied are too small. But Thompson points out that the findings are, in their consistent trend, significant straws in the wind: and he refers to two other successful tests of the validity of the Glueck Social Prediction Scale, completed by the Jewish Board of Guardians of New York City, one on a group of Jewish boys and the other on a group of Jewish girls, and *each of them showing essentially the same predictive capacity as that shown in this study.* We may, I think, take it provisionally that this prediction table at least, applied in the spirit of the Gluecks' intention as 'an aid to the clinician in the always difficult task of individualization,' is likely to be very useful indeed: and to that extent the sceptical conclusions expressed above about prediction must be modified.

But this correction and reformulation is all the more acceptable to the general thesis of this paper because the Glueck Social Prediction Scale is in fact a Family Prediction Scale. On p. 270 of *Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency* the five factors in the social background of the boys which constitute the Social Prediction Scale are defined as follows:

(1) *Discipline of boy by Father*

Lax: Father is negligent, indifferent, lets boy do what he likes.
Overstrict: Father is harsh, unreasoning, demands obedience through fear.

Erratic:	Father varies between strictness and laxity, is not consistent in control.
Firm and Kindly:	Discipline is based on sound reason which the boy understands and accepts as fair.

(2) *Supervision of boy by Mother*

Suitable:	If mother does not work outside the home and is not ill, she personally keeps close watch on the boy or provides for his leisure hours in clubs or playgrounds. If she is ill or out of the home a great deal, there is a responsible adult in charge.
Fair:	Mother, though at home, gives only partial supervision to boy.
Unsuitable:	Mother is careless in her supervision, leaving the boy to his own devices without guidance, or in the care of an irresponsible child or adult.

(3) *Affection of Father for boy.*
(4) *Affection of Mother for boy*

Warm:	Parent is sympathetic, kind, attached, even, in some cases, over-protective.
Indifferent:	Parent does not pay much attention to boy.
Hostile:	Parent rejects boy.

(5) *Cohesiveness of Family*

Cohesive:	There is a strong 'we feeling' among members of the immediate family as evidenced by co-operativeness, group interests, pride in the home, affection for each other. 'All for one and one for all.'
Some Elements of Cohesion:	Even if the family group may not be entirely intact (because of departure of one or more members), the remaining group of which the boy is a part has at least some of the characteristics of the cohesive family.
Unintegrated:	Home is just a place to 'hang your hat'; self-interest of the members exceeds group interest.

The grades of each factor are given a numerical value—the higher the value the greater the likelihood of delinquency. Thus under factors (1) and (2) an over-strict or erratic father gives the boy a score of 71·8; a lax mother 83·2; a firm but kindly father and mother rate a score of 9·3 and 9·9 respectively. Under factors (3) and (4) an indifferent or hostile father rates 75·9; an indifferent or hostile mother rates 86·2; a warmly affectionate (including over-protective) father rates 33·8; the same attitudes in the mother rate 43·1.

Dr. Eleanor Glueck gives an example[18] to illustrate the scoring calculations involved:

'You learn that Johnny's father is over-strict in his discipline of the boy. The boy is therefore scored 71·8 on this factor. The mother

leaves him quite to his own devices, allowing him to run about the
street at will and not knowing what he does or where he goes. On
this he is scored 83·2. The father clearly dislikes the boy, expressing
his hostility in no uncertain terms. The score here is 75·9. The
mother has little warmth of feeling for him. She is *indifferent* to
the boy. Score is 86·2. As regards the cohesiveness of the family
unit, it has to be regarded as *unintegrated* because the mother spends
most of the day away from home, giving little if any thought to the
doings of the children: and the father who likes his liquor, seeks
every opportunity to hang round parlours and cafés with his own
friends. The boy is therefore scored 96·9. Addition of the score
results in a total of 414. A consultation of the prediction table (see
below) places this boy in the group whose chances of delinquency
are 9 out of 10. This is so high that it warrants preventive treat-
ment.'

Prediction Table Derived from Factors of Social Background

Weighted Failure Score Class	Chances of Delinquency (per hundred)	Chances of Non-Delinquency (per hundred)
Under 200	8·2	91·8
200—249	37·0	63·0
250—299	63·5	36·5
300 and over	89·2	10·8

Table xx-3, p. 262, *Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency*

A close study of the five factors shows that the factor of family
discipline (1 and 2) and of family cohesion (5) are probably easier
to detect and measure than the factors of parental affection (3 and 4)
all grades of which are scored comparatively high, with no low score
for genuine affection and security: primarily because, it may be
suggested, genuine affection and security are difficult to estimate
except over a long period or in terms of the kind of knowledge
required by Bowlby, considerations neglected or rejected, as we have
seen, by the Gluecks.

It may therefore be said summarily that just as the social factors
posited by the Gluecks turn out in fact to be exclusively factors of
family relationships, the emphasis or weight in the interpretation or
scoring of family relationships is towards the more observable aspects

of family discipline than towards the more subtle aspects of family affection emphasised by Healy and Bronner, Stott, and Bowlby. The Gluecks' affinity in the derivation of the factors of family relationships is therefore rather more with Burt than with the authors just cited. But the difference of emphasis is not very important.

The Gluecks go on, in common with the delinquent-oriented majority of investigators, to advocate preventive treatment in the individual case. But a more fundamental preventive treatment is involved, as the Gluecks also recognise. 'We must break the vicious circle of character-damaging influence on children' they say, 'exerted by parents who are themselves the distorted personality-products of adverse parental influences, through intensive instruction of each generation of prospective parents in the elements of mental hygiene and the requisites of happy and healthy family life . . . Without this we shall continue the attempt to sweep back the mounting tides of delinquency with an outworn broom.'[10]

The same is true of research. We must alter our sights, aim beyond the delinquent, and tackle the problems of which delinquency is an indicator, concentrating in the first instance on family disorganisation.

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[1] Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor T. Glueck: *Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency.* New York, 1950.

[2] Sir Cyril Burt: *The Young Delinquent.* London, 1925. Fourth Edition, Third Printing: 1948.

[3] R. Sessions Hodge, V. J. Walter and W. Grey Walter: Juvenile Delinquency: An Electro-Physiological, Psychological and Social Study: in *The British Journal of Delinquency:* Vol. III, No. 3, 1953, pp. 155-172.

[1] J. Bowlby: *Forty-Four Juvenile Thieves: Their Characters and Home Life.* London, 1946. Also *Maternal Care and Mental Health.* Geneva, 1951.

[5] *British Journal of Delinquency,* Vol. II, No. 2, 1951, pp. 147-9.

[6] Edwin Powers and Helen Witmer: *An Experiment in the Prevention of Delinquency.* The Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study, New York, 1951.

[7] Glueck, op. cit., p. 288.

[8] L. Bovet: *Psychiatric Aspects of Delinquency.* Geneva, 1951.

[9] T. C. N. Gibbens: Critical Notice of 'Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency' in *The British Journal of Delinquency:* Vol. II, No. 3, pp. 262-4.

[10] T. Ferguson and J. Cunnison: *The Young Wage-Earner.* p. 176.

[11] W. H. Sheldon, et al.: *The Varieties of Human Physique.* New York, 1940.

[12] Glueck: op. cit., p. 20.

J. A. Mack

D. H. Stott: *Delinquency and Human Nature*. Dunfermline, 1950 p. 10.

[14] E. H. Sutherland: *Principles of Criminology*: Fourth Edition. New York, 1947, p. 8.

[15] Burt: op. cit., pp. 600, 601.

[16] Bowlby: *Forty-Four Juvenile Thieves*. pp. 40-41. 'Burt . . . places these early separations among the *minor* factors in the origin of delinquency. His actual figures hardly warrant such a conclusion. Thus he found that 23·5% of the boys and 36·5% of the girls had suffered prolonged absence from their parents. This contrasted with figures of 1·5% and 0·5% respectively for the controls.'

[17] *British Journal of Delinquency*. Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 289-297.

[18] *British Journal of Delinquency*. Vol. II, No. 4, pp. 283-4.

[19] Glueck: *Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency*, p. 287.

THE SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF CHINESE
IMMIGRANTS IN LIVERPOOL

Maurice Broady

S ome of the most urgent social problems of a cosmopolitan sea-
port city like Liverpool are problems of adjustment between
ethnic minorities and the indigenous society into which they
have migrated. This adjustment is often very difficult, and many
immigrant communities suffer acutely as a result of prejudice and
discrimination. Their problems have been the concern of both
administrators and sociologists, and the research which has hitherto
been undertaken in Liverpool into problems of race-relations has
been related to the Negro communities, since it is they which are
most adversely affected by racial discrimination.[1]

The Chinese community, on the other hand, is interesting pre-
cisely because its adjustment is not regarded as a problem. In a
report[2] which was published in 1930, Miss M. E. Fletcher came
to the conclusion that the Chinese, unlike the West African com-
munity, did not present a serious social problem. That judgment
was confirmed four years later by Caradog Jones, whose comment
on the Negro and Chinese communities still appears to be sub-
stantially true: 'Each community comprises about 500 adult males.
In both cases, there has been widespread inter-marriage and co-
habitation with white women. Here the resemblance between the
two groups ceases. The Chinese appear to make excellent husbands
and there is little evidence of any of their families falling into
poverty, but the same cannot be said of the negroes and their
families. The half-Chinese children on growing up find little
difficulty in obtaining work or in entering into marriage with the
surrounding white population. The girls in particular are attractive
and good-looking. On the other hand, the Anglo-negroid children
when grown up do not easily get work or mix with the ordinary
population.'[3]

The comparatively untroubled adjustment of the Chinese may be
explained partly by the fact, that local residents do not discriminate

as adversely against them as against Negroes. Though the individual Chinese may not entirely escape prejudice and discrimination, he is generally spoken of by the Liverpolitan as 'a Chinese' or as 'John Chinaman,' neither of which approaches the derogatory emphasis of 'a Chink,' or of the many pejorative terms that are used to refer to Negroes. If Chinese are thought of as 'inscrutable' or 'mysterious,' they are also widely respected as orderly and cultivated people. The explanation of these facts entails a consideration of the social and cultural characteristics of Chinese immigration, and it is to some of these features that I wish to draw attention.

I

The Chinese community in Liverpool owes its development to the rapid growth of trade with China during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1865, Alfred and Philip Holt, two Liverpool ship-owners, formed the Ocean Steam Ship Company, and in the following year inaugurated the first direct steam-ship service from Liverpool to China. After the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the company grew rapidly, and between 1873 and 1898 the number of its ships increased from 15 to 49, while the net tonnage of the fleet more than trebled. It was as seamen on board these ships[4] that Chinese first came to Liverpool.

Seafaring has usually afforded the Chinese fairly secure employment, since a few shipping companies, in particular the Blue Funnel Line,[5] have regularly employed Chinese as crews and shore-gang workers. This has undoubtedly been a very significant factor in the adjustment of Chinese immigrants in Liverpool. The Blue Funnel Line, moreover, has tended to maintain close contact with the Chinese community, partly because of the paternalistic benevolence which has inspired its policy towards its employees, and also because it is legally responsible to ensure that alien sailors whom it employs leave the United Kingdom before the expiry of the limited period—usually a month—stated in their conditions of landing.

Many of the earlier immigrants, however, took employment on shore. Those who settled permanently in Liverpool before the 1930's came mainly from Kwangtung and Hong Kong and very often became laundrymen. Since 1939, a larger proportion of immigrants has come from Shanghai and the province of Chekiang, and most of them have remained in employment as seamen after marrying local Englishwomen. The remarkably successful economic adjust-

ment of the Chinese is reflected in the development of a social class structure, which ranges from the humble level of laundrymen, cooks, sailors and shore-gang workers, who live predominantly in the older parts of the town, to wealthy proprietors of restaurants and boarding-houses, many of whom have married Englishwomen and now live in middle- and upper-class residential districts, such as Crosby and Mossley Hill.

That this successful economic adjustment has not been regarded by the 'host' society as a particularly serious threat may be due to the specialised types of occupation in which the Chinese have tended to engage. But it may also be related to the fact, that with the exception of the period from 1942 to 1947, the size of the community has been limited. In 1881, fifteen Chinese were recorded as living in Liverpool and Birkenhead; by 1891, there were 27. Ten years later, the number in Merseyside had risen to 76, and thereafter the population increased very rapidly until, by 1911, it had reached 502.[6]

Until the outbreak of the first World War, no major restrictions were placed upon the immigration of aliens into the United Kingdom. Under the Aliens Act of 1905, immigration boards had been set up in selected ports, which were empowered to prevent the landing of undesirable aliens; but this was a minimal control, and provided an alien could ensure 'means of decently supporting himself and his dependants,' there was nothing to prevent his settling in this country. This Act was superseded in 1914, when the Aliens Restriction Act became operative and an Immigration Department was established under the Home Office, the purpose of which was to restrict and control the immigration and movement of aliens during wartime. The Aliens Restriction (Amendment) Act of 1919 made legal the continuance of these powers in time of peace; and the immigration of aliens became much more difficult than it had been before the war, because the granting of permission to land in the United Kingdom was made dependent upon their ability to be self-supporting, while restrictions were placed upon their employment.

The effect of this restrictive immigration policy was appreciably to reduce, if not to stop, the immigration of Chinese into Liverpool after 1919. In 1921, the number of Chinese in the city was 571.[7] Nine years later, the police returns showed that 529 persons were recorded as Chinese,[8] a figure which included the British-born wives

of Chinese nationals.

Between 1942 and 1947, the size of the community grew considerably. During that period, Liverpool was the headquarters of the Chinese Merchant Seamen's Pool, into which some 10,000 Chinese seamen from Liverpool, London, Rotterdam and the Far East had been enrolled. After the war, large numbers of these Chinese returned home or were repatriated, and the community regained its pre-war proportions. Many Chinese who had married during their wartime sojourn in Liverpool were granted conditional permission by the Home Office to remain in the United Kingdom. Including these new additions, I estimate the number of adult Chinese nationals who are now permanently domiciled in Liverpool to be about 400.

At the turn of the century, the Chinese were concentrated in Cleveland Square, whence they extended along Pitt Street, a socially-declining street in which Africans, Scandinavians and Levantines had settled before them. Part of the district was demolished in the inter-war years and part was destroyed by wartime bombing. During the second World War, the centre of the community shifted into Nelson Street. Many Anglo-Chinese and Chinese families still live in that vicinity, but many have now moved out, even further from the original settlement, into Granby and Abercromby wards.

It is noteworthy, that from the earliest years of their settlement, the Chinese have been regarded as 'the embodiment of public order,'[9] and Pitt Street was long noted as a street down which a woman might walk without molestation. Clashes occurred in 1910 between Chinese and Liverpolitans, and during the second World War between Chinese and Negro seamen. But apart from such very exceptional incidents and the occasional police raid on gambling-houses and opium-dens, the Chinese have led orderly and peaceable lives and have always maintained cordial relations with their English neighbours

In the manner characteristic of overseas Chinese communities, the Chinese in Liverpool have organised many of their own communal associations. Already in 1906, a Chinese seaman's union was reported to have been set up.[10] But two of the most permanent institutions are the Progress Club and the Chi Kung Thong or Chinese Masonic Society. The Progress Club was associated with the Kuomintang. Since the defeat of the Kuomintang in China and the subsequent recall of the Nationalist Chinese consul, the Progress Club no longer

appears to have active political affiliations, and it functions now solely as a social club and bar. The Chi Kung Thong is a branch of the mystical, semi-religious Chinese society, known as the Hung Man Wui. Membership entailed the swearing of oaths of secrecy and the performance of esoteric rituals, and afforded members protection in disputes with anyone who was not a brother-member of the society. Although in some overseas Chinese communities the Hung Man Wui has exercised considerable political influence,[11] in Liverpool its role appears to have been predominantly a social one. At one time, it provided decent funerals for its members and organised outings for the children of the community. Nowadays, however, the Thong seems to be a moribund association frequented mainly by the old men of the community. The more vigorous centres of Chinese communal life appear to be the eating-houses, gambling-dens, clubs and pubs in the vicinity of Nelson Street.

II

During the last hundred years, Western ideas and patterns of behaviour have exerted an increasingly important influence upon the culture of traditional China, which has led to a marked secularisation of Chinese life and to an increasing deviance from many traditional patterns of behaviour. These changes have been specially noticeable in the large coastal towns such as Shanghai, Canton and Hong Kong, where Europeans have been in closest contact with Chinese.[12] Since it is from these towns that the majority of Chinese in Liverpool come, it is not to be expected that they will be extremely traditional in outlook and behaviour. Indeed, the limited evidence presently available supports the view that many important traditional rituals and beliefs are no longer considered legitimate by local Chinese immigrants.[13]

In 1906, a room in Pitt Street was reported to be fitted as a temple,[14] but neither temple nor ancestral-hall is now to be found in Chinatown, and neither ancestor nor spirit worship appears to be practised by local Chinese. The only occasion on which I have seen traditional Chinese ritual performed was at the funeral of a member of a pure Chinese family; but it was not at all as elaborate as that which might have been seen on such an occasion in China or Malaya Gravestones are still inscribed in Chinese with traditional honorific titles for the deceased, but many are now being inscribed in English. At the traditional festival of Ch'ing Ming, flowers are put upon

graves in the Chinese cemetery by many families and by several associations such as the Chi Kung Thong and the See-Yap (district) Association; but there is no evidence that any other form of ritual, such as the traditional ceremony of 'brushing the graves,' is observed at this time. Other occasions which traditionally would call for ritual observances are here completely secular. Marriages are usually contracted in registry-offices, and no traditional ritual is observed either at that time or at births, though the 'maan-yit,' the first month after the child's birth, may be recognised as a time for some sort of celebration. Especially during the war, such occasions were celebrated at considerable expense, simply as social gatherings.

In rural China, where the traditional culture was much less affected by foreign influences than in the coastal cities, extravagance was socially sanctioned only at times when ritual would be performed. So strong was the sanction accorded to such extravagances, that at ritually-defined times, ordinarily frugal families would throw all prudence to the winds, in order to prepare a celebration and a feast for a wedding or a funeral or a birth. Fei and Chang, for instance, report that many peasant families put themselves into debt, and even sold land, in order to find money for this purpose.[15] A schoolteacher, who at his own expense had given two feasts to all comers for six full days after his father's funeral, explained his extravagance by saying, 'only by spending as much as I am able, can I pay honour to my deceased father.' Since extravagant expenditure was a measure of the social status of the dead, it was justified as an act of filial duty. But it was also a way in which the living family could both demonstrate and acquire social prestige.

In the Liverpool Chinese community, social extravagance has been retained, while the content of traditional ritual has disappeared. Since the ritual was meaningful because of a belief in the effective existence of ancestors, it is reasonable to infer from its disappearance, that that belief is no longer held to be legitimate by the Chinese in Liverpool. It is equally possible, that as the social function of such ceremonies has been retained, so also has the purely secular motive. If conspicuous expenditure is no longer motivated by a desire to honour the ancestors, it may still express a desire to demonstrate or to acquire prestige.

To this extent, therefore, the attitudes and behaviour of the Liverpool Chinese no longer appear to conform to a strictly traditional pattern. The changes which have taken place in that pattern

have had the effect of minimising that sort of behaviour which would make the Chinese conspicuously different from the European. But it is important to note, that these changes have not been made simply in order to adjust to life in Liverpool, but are related to the cultural changes that have been taking place within China proper.

Important as these changes in Chinese culture are, they do not appear to have affected the Chinese immigrant's conception of the role which he should play in the family, and this is a factor of considerable significance for the stability of a community in which the majority of marriages are between Chinese men and English or Anglo-Chinese women. All alien Chinese who have settled permanently in Liverpool may be presumed to have intermarried, since it is otherwise difficult for them to find grounds on which to secure Home Office permission to reside here. If an alien Chinese marries a British subject, permission is usually granted him to remain ashore indefinitely, subject to 'Secretary of State's conditions,' under which the Home Secretary retains the power to authorise his repatriation.

When he comes to England, if he wishes to find a wife, the Chinese usually arranges for a friend to introduce him to a woman. Since he does not usually dance, and since he may speak only a little English, this is one of the few ways in which he can meet Englishwomen. This custom is analogous to the phrasing of advertisements for wives in modern Chinese newspapers in the name of a third person seeking a wife for his friend.[16] One may reasonably suggest that it is a reinterpretation of match-making by a professional match-maker, which used to precede traditional-style marriages in China. This formal introduction is necessary since traditional attitudes to women are still retained.

The data which I collected about the attitudes of Chinese husbands toward their English wives support this inference. Most English wives with whom I spoke, said that Chinese were jealous husbands. The case of the waitress whose Chinese husband had obliged her to record exactly where she went during the day may be exaggerated, but there was little doubt that many Chinese were annoyed if their wives so much as spoke to another man. The wives commented that they missed the companionship which they would expect of an English husband. They often complained that their husbands never took them out for an evening's entertainment as an Englishman would, but went alone to the clubs, cafés and gambling houses

in Chinatown, while their wives had to stay at home. The Chinese, it was said, expected his wife 'to look after the children, keep house and to be there when he comes home.' He tended, furthermore, not to express affection for his wife in public, and I have never, for instance, seen a Chinese either kiss or take his wife by the arm. On one couple's wedding anniversary, it was the wife's sister, and not the husband, who took them out to celebrate.

On the other hand, the wives were in full agreement that their husbands were good and conscientious fathers. I was frequently told that they thought more of their children than they did of their wives. They were to be found nursing the children, washing them, bathing them and even putting them to bed. (Their share in the household chores usually included cooking, serving tea and washing up). Many wives considered that the men spoiled their children by giving them too much money. One distinctive social relationship is that of the 'suckie,' which is the children's word for any Chinese man younger than their father, with whom they are familiar.[17] The 'suckies' give money freely to children 'because they like them.'

It is evident that the Chinese tends to assume attitudes and patterns of behaviour, which are somewhat different from those which are normally ascribed to the husband in an English family. The absence of overt emotional expression towards his wife is particularly noticeable. It may be suggested that this is characteristic of the Chinese family, the stability of which appears to be less dependent than our own upon direct emotional expression between man and wife, or even upon the physical proximity of the spouses. Many men who support wives and children in China have been in Liverpool for five years or more. Rose Hum Lee has pointed out that the concept 'broken family' has a different meaning in Chinese and American cultures. 'It would appear that as long as the husband supports the wife, whether intermittently or otherwise, or can delegate this responsibility to another (his family, son or sons), the family is not "broken" in the Chinese sense. A husband may leave his wife in his home on the hour or day of his marriage and never return, and yet the unit is regarded as "unbroken."'[18]

Though these differences in attitude and behaviour on the part of their Chinese husbands caused some dissatisfaction to many English wives, this was largely balanced by the fact that the Chinese was invariably acknowledged as being responsible and conscientious,

both in providing for his family and in looking after his children. A few Chinese seamen in Liverpool of whom I have records, support Englishwomen and their children, who have been deserted by the legitimate father. Such evidence as I have been able to collect on this point, suggests that if a Chinese takes a second wife, this time in Liverpool, he does not cease to support his wife and family in China. The fact that he has assumed the role of husband to a second woman, and has children by her also, does not mean that he regards as anulled the obligations which he has to his first wife in China. It seems, then, that the Chinese accepts as unconditionally binding the obligations towards his wife and children that are traditionally ascribed to him, whenever he voluntarily accepts the role of father or husband.

A very deep-seated Chinese attitude is undoubtedly reflected in the Chinese law, under which an Anglo-Chinese child who was born in England would still be regarded in China as a Chinese national. Wherever he may go, the Chinese remains a Chinese. In particular, he remains aware of his membership of and his obligations to his family of origin, regardless of the fact that he may have only infrequent contact with it. Consequently, the morality that was binding upon him as a member of a family in China is still acknowledged as being binding when he is in Liverpool, for neither separation nor inter-marriage affect his awareness of his role towards his own family of origin. Hence, when, in Liverpool, he assumes the roles of husband and father, he fully accepts the obligations which those roles traditionally impose upon him.[19]

III

Several factors have now been suggested as being important in accounting for the untroubled adjustment which Chinese immigrants in Liverpool have made a vis-à-vis the indigenous society into which they have migrated. In normal times, the community has never been very large; it has also been very orderly. The economic position of the Chinese has never been more insecure than that of the Liverpolitan himself, since regular employment has been open to him on board ship, and since he has proven remarkably successful in running special kinds of business, such as laundries and restaurants. While, in accordance with general cultural changes which have been taking place in China itself, the Chinese has been increasingly subjected to Western influences, he has nevertheless firmly retained a traditional

awareness of family obligation.

Assimilation means 'a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other persons or groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life.'[20] The Chinese cannot be said to be assimilated. On the contrary, even if he marries an Englishwoman he does not mix very widely in English society; and if he acquires any of the 'memories, sentiments and attitudes' of English culture, it is only superficially. Nor does he deliberately attempt to organise his life in such a way as to prevent or to reduce conflict with the local society.[21] The police, for instance, have long attempted to stamp out gambling and opium-smoking in Chinatown. Under changed conditions, the Chinese is still Chinese.

The Chinese immigrant, on arrival in Liverpool, has neither been forced to adopt nor impelled to admire patterns of behaviour that are radically incompatible with his own. By coming to Liverpool, he has not been subjected to an acute conflict of cultural values, since many traditional Chinese motivations and beliefs have been losing their legitimacy at the same time that other, not essentially incompatible ones, have been becoming more dominant. If the hypothesis which I have put forward is correct, the desire for social prestige assessed in financial terms, which seems to be the typical present-day motive among local Chinese, has developed from the traditional system of action, not by a complete and sudden repudiation of that system, but by a reweighting of its elements. This motivation is consistent with that which is acceptable in our own society, and the values and attitudes which the Chinese brings with him do not usually conflict with the norms of that society. Emotional maladjustment may sometimes occur between man and wife in Anglo-Chinese families, but because in external aspects, these families so closely approximate the local norms, no pressure has been exerted upon the Chinese to change attitudes and behaviour in areas of family life which are less public. It is precisely because he has neither assimilated, nor deliberately sought to accommodate to an English culture-pattern that the Chinese is not subject to culture conflict, and that the Chinese community is thought not to constitute a social problem.

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[1] See Anthony H. Richmond: *Colour Prejudice in Britain*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954.

[2] M. E. Fletcher: *Report on an Investigation into the Coloured Problem in Liverpool*, Liverpool Association for the Welfare of Half-Caste Children, 1930.

[3] Caradog Jones: *Survey of Merseyside*, Liverpool University Press, 1934, Vol. I. pp. 74-5.

[4] Two other shipping companies also ran ships from Liverpool to China, namely the Gulf Line, from 1900, and the China Mutual Company from 1884. The latter was a serious rival to the Blue Funnel Line until their amalgamation in 1902.

[5] i.e. The Ocean Steam Ship Co., Ltd., (Alfred Holt and Co., Ltd.)

[6] Caradog Jones: op. cit. pp. 71-72. The figures given are taken from the Census Returns and include all persons born in China.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

[9] *Liverpool Courier*, 27th November, 1906.

[10] *Liverpool Courier*, op. cit.

[11] See Victor Purcell: *The Chinese in Malaya*, Oxford University Press, 1948, Ch. VIII.

[12] See Olga Lang: *Chinese Family and Society*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, Part II.

[13] The material from which this section was written, was collected from informants in Chinatown during a four-month period of field-work carried out in 1951. I had close personal acquaintance with one Chinese and nine Anglo-Chinese families. The heads of these families were Cantonese, with two exceptions, one of whom came from Shanghai and the other from Shantung. Their occupations were mainly seamen and cooks. Obviously, the number is small and the sample not random, and no claim is made that the arguments which this material is used to support are more than suggestive.

[14] *Liverpool Courier*, op. cit.

[15] Fei and Chang: *Earthbound China*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1948, p. 101.

[16] Lang, op. cit., p. 125.

[17] The term is a form of the Cantonese 'suck,' father's younger brother.

[18] Rose Hum Lee: 'Research on the Chinese Family,' *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LIV, No. 6, p. 50.

[19] Cf. Purcell's conclusion: 'In Malaya the Chinese have behaved characteristically: they have readily accepted a framework of government whilst stubbornly refusing to cease to act and think as Chinese.' Op. cit. p. 290.

[20] Park and Burgess: *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, Chicago, 1925, p. 735.

[21] Park and Burgess define as accommodation 'an organisation of social relations and attitudes to prevent or to reduce conflict, to control competition, and to maintain a basis of security in the social order for persons and groups of divergent interests and types to carry on together their various life-activities.' Ibid.

THE BRITISH-BORN COLOURED*

Sydney Collins

C oloured settlements in Britain are situated in most of her large ports and industrial towns, and date back nearly half a century. Until recently, the immigrants who composed these communities were all males and by occupation, seamen. Since the war, however, there have been female immigrants, as well as an increasing number of persons in various kinds of semi-skilled and unskilled occupations. Communities of immigrants are of three main types, based on national, cultural and racial factors. Thus Arabs, Pakistanis and Somalis group themselves into communities based on the Muslim religion, while West Indians and West Africans are organized on the basis of common racial identity and historical links, and Chinese retain their national separateness.

The immigrants take as wives or consorts mostly local 'working class' white women and miscegenation has now produced two generations of British-born coloured.[1] For the purpose of this paper they will be called 'Anglo-coloureds' and only Negro and Muslim immigrants will be discussed. The aim of the paper will be, to consider the social position of the Anglo-coloured in relation to his ethnic group and to the host society. First, the social position of the Anglo-coloured will be examined with respect to his relation to the local Muslim or Negro community and secondly with respect to regional variation in the structure of the ethnic community and its alignment to the host society. The ethnic communities chosen will be called Dockland and will be described regionally as Northeast Dockland, West Dockland and Northwest Dockland. In the Northeast there are two separate groupings, the Muslim and the Negro, each located in separate, though adjoining ports. In West Dockland, Negroes and Muslims occupy the same area but have separate organizations. There is no appreciable difference in the social position of Muslim immigrants and Muslim Anglo-coloureds occupying West Dockland

and those in the Northeast. It is between the Negroes of the three settlements that marked differences are found. Such differences appear not only in community structure but also in the social status of the Negro Anglo-coloured *vis-à-vis* the host society. Three examples will be given later to illustrate these variations.

Muslim communities in Britain have certain similar features, as do Negro communities. But Muslim and Negro communities also show marked differences among themselves. Consequently, children who are brought up in either one or other of these communities may be compared on the basis of these similarities and differences.

Muslim Communities

Muslim immigrants and their sons are seamen by occupation. Their wives or consorts are mostly white 'working class' women but as the communities increase in numbers and time-depth Anglo-coloured Muslim girls become available for marriage. Muslims have their own institutions for religious, social and recreational purposes using as centres for these activities, the Mosque or Zoaia, cafés and boarding houses respectively, with the sheikh and 'boarding house master' performing the roles of primary and secondary leaders of the community. The day to day routine of family life ensures that the child is brought up orientated towards the Muslim way of life so that the dominant interest of the Muslims and their dependents are focussed upon their own community.

The religious institution has a dominant role in the Muslim community, setting its basic structure and in a large measure prescribing its norms and values for daily living. Islam is accepted by the wives of some Muslims as their own religious faith and those wives who do not accept Islam will, nevertheless, observe those rules and customs insisted on by their husbands. Children are trained to conform to the Muslim way of life, the father being the dominant influence in the home from a very early age. Soon after the child is a week old, a ritual is performed at which it is named. If a male child, he is later circumcised. Then follows the period for religious instructions when he is taught prayers, sacred verses and narratives from the Koran, and the observance of customs affecting food, drink and social life. The child also participates in rituals connected with the Mosque. The classes in which these instructions are given are held in rooms adjoining the Mosque or Zoaia. Sons are more highly valued than daughters. Paternal control over sons is extended to the

sphere of occupation and boys are employed on boats on which the father or paternal clansmen are engaged. The daughter's choice of a husband is also influenced by her father's preference, which usually goes first to a member of his own clan or tribal affiliation and next to his national group.

Inevitably, while the child is being trained in Muslim ways, he is at the same time being conditioned to the norms and values of British society, by the example of his British mother at home, by education received in school and through daily contacts in the society. At school the child interacts freely with white children, participates fully in all the work and activities of the institution and selects friends from among his mates irrespective of their ethnic origin. And as the father is away frequently at sea for long periods, the mother exercises sole control over the child during this time.

As an outcome of this dual process of training and the initial dominance of the paternal group, the child's behaviour, until adolescence, is strongly influenced by his Muslim sub-culture. Then increasingly he becomes attracted to the values of the host society to which he begins to conform and more and more frees himself from the controls of his ethnic group. This tendency is demonstrated on the one hand, by the child's diminishing interest in the religious ritual, by his disregard for Muslim taboos, by the tendency of some to avoid in public Muslim immigrants, fearing identification with them, and on the other hand by the child's increasingly full participation in British life. To illustrate these points a particular Muslim community will be considered.

The Muslim settlement in Northeast Dockland has a population of about one thousand. The community is clustered in the dock area and ninety of the houses, built recently by the local housing authority, are separated from white households. The wives of Muslims sometimes complain about the separation but the immigrants show preference for it since it facilitates intra-group integration and the retention of their culture.

Five daily *rakahs* or prayers are held in two zoaias or prayer rooms and annual Muslim festivals are also observed. The sheikh, who is head of the religious organization and also chief advisor on secular matters, lives in West Dockland and visits the community periodically, but delegates his authority during his absence to an assistant sheikh who resides locally. Most immigrants belong to the Allowaian sect with its centre in North Africa, and devotees of the Sufi religious

order are the most highly esteemed. The annual festivals observed are colourful and spectacular, the devotees wearing turbans and dressed in brightly coloured and white robes. With flags and banners they parade the streets and then march towards the zoaia, chanting hymns from the Koran. A ritual in the zoaia followed by communal feasting usually ends the proceedings. Women and children participate in the parade and feasting but not in the ritual held in the zoaia. The women—the British wives of Muslims who also become proselytes of Islam—used to hold meetings in a separate room adjoining the zoaia. But this custom was discontinued.

Cafés and boarding houses owned by immigrants provide living accommodation and social centres for the community. These boarding house masters are secondary leaders in the community, each attracting a group of clients, whose wages are entrusted to him, whose property he protects, to whom he lends money and gives advice and for whom he arbitrates in disputes.

Sub-groups may be national in character—Somali, Arab or Pakistani, or they may consist of diverse nationalities. Organizations such as the Muslim League and Allowaian Society establish links with the immigrants' native land, give mutual aid and function as pressure groups. But it is the religious organization that is the most effective integrating institution in the community as a whole. A strong public opinion supports an effective system of social control. These structural features which I have described, and in particular its Muslim bias give the community its distinctive character.

Muslim children pass through the period of schooling which is obligatory to British children. They attend two schools, a primary and secondary, near the Muslim community and share academic work and extra-curricular activities with British children. At school white and Muslim children mix freely, but white children are inclined to keep away from the Muslim community. The academic performance of the Anglo-coloured compares favourably with that of white children, as is shown by the records of one school for the years 1947-1949. In 1948, fifty per cent. of the Anglo-coloureds reached the grade from which selections were made for the final test as potential grammar school pupils. This proportion compares with twenty-five per cent. of the whole school that attained the grade that year. In 1947 a similar standard was reached. But significantly, these achievements were not maintained in later years, probably because the children were not encouraged by their parents. Certainly

no child of this Muslim community, or the community in West Dockland, has had a grammar school education. Interest has not yet been shown in those achievements which could raise the status of the child in the host society.

Boys usually follow their father's profession as seamen. After the last war a few boys were apprenticed to trades in the town, but as a reaction to racial taunts from white apprentices, and attracted by higher wages and the companionship of other Muslims, they left their trades to become seamen. Girls work in light industry or as domestics but marry at an early age and then leave their employment. Muslim husbands do not encourage their wives to take up employment other than assisting in their own cafés or boarding houses. Endogamous tendencies are encouraged, with most of the girls marrying Muslims and remaining within the Muslim community. Of fourteen girls, four married Englishmen and went to live outside, but the rest married Muslims and were residing in the community.

In the West Dockland Muslim community, the social position of the Anglo-coloured is similar in most respects to the situation in the Northeast. The only significant variation is the close association between Negro and Muslim Anglo-coloureds. Muslims and Negroes occupy the same settlement and the children of both share in the activities of the school, clubs and other forms of community life. Like the Negro, the Muslim Anglo-coloured begins early to participate in the social life of the host society. At the same time, the Muslim Anglo-coloured continues to show deference to the norms and values of his ethnic group. The controls here are not so strong but nevertheless operate. Essentially the pattern observed in the Northeast is repeated in the West.

Negro Communities

Various cultural elements introduced by the Negro immigrants, contribute to the composition of the structure and sub-culture of the Negro communities. Their formal and informal associations are organized on three levels. At one level are linguistic and tribal groups. Above these are national organizations. Then political and social organizations are built upon these. Unlike the Muslims, Negro communities have no traditional religious or social institutions such as those centred in the Mosque, café or boarding house, nor have they the traditional type of leadership such as is provided by the sheikh and boarding house master or an integrating force such as

Islam. Members of the Negro group seek participation in the activities of the host society, even at the risk of opposition from it, and their children are brought up to seek the same kind of participation.

The Negroes are divided into social age categories called 'Old Timers' and 'Newcomers.' The latter are the recent arrivals and the former are the older residents who consider themselves the guardians of the norms and values of the Negro community, described in terms such as 'the good name of the coloured people.' These norms as well as those of the host society are all too frequently violated by the Newcomers with resulting conflict between 'Newcomers' on the one hand and 'Old Timers' and the host society on the other.

The attitude of the Negro father towards the upbringing of his child differs from that of his Muslim counterpart. Except for his insistence on strict obedience to parental control no attempt is made to train the child to become a carrier of the culture of the Negro community. The British wife or consort occupies a unique position in the community. She sets the pattern of home life, and in a large measure is responsible for the training of the child, especially since the father as a seaman. is absent from home most of the time. Consequently the dominant influence in the life of the child is the mother's.

Children show respect and observe certain obligations towards classificatory as well as towards real parents. The friends of parents are addressed as 'aunts' or 'uncles' and social obligations to them involve the exchange of gifts and services and even the exercise of disciplinary actions by seniors. An informal system of rights and duties binds the community into a network of social obligations. The child moves freely among several homes in the Negro community and shares privileges which would normally in most societies be preserved for close consanguineous relatives. This is a fair description of a highly integrated Negro community such as West Dockland. But these features are far less pronounced in the not so well integrated Negro grouping of Northwest and Northeast Dockland. More will be said later of these two latter communities.

The internal aspects of the organization of these Negro communities have been discussed but the external aspect is also important. The Negro finds himself in a state of dilemma and because he organizes his associations under protest against the host society

these organizations normally operate as pressure groups. They reflect a pull in two opposite directions. On the one hand, the Negro turns towards his group to satisfy his need for expression, co-operation and security against the social pressure of the host society. On the other hand, his protest against confinement and social deprivation expresses his desire to participate more fully in the institutions of the host society. Consequently one is not surprised that Negro associations reflect the structural stresses and strains of this dilemma and tend to split or disintegrate or to throw out one leader after another. The fact is that members of the Negro group have a greater desire to be assimilated individually into the host society than to remain permanently in Dockland. Consequently the Negro child is encouraged to acquire British values in order that he might gain as many concessions as possible from British society. No dual pattern of life is set for him by his parents, no section of British life is prohibited to him by them.

Against this general background of Negro life are observed regional variations in various features of social life. These variations which occur in the structure of the grouping are apparent in the differences of social status of the Anglo-coloureds. But the child like his parents is caught in the dilemma and feels the effects of contradictory pulls. The degree to which the strain is evident varies from one community to another and reflects the structural state of that community.

This observation may be illustrated from three Negro communities. Northwest Dockland may be described as being in an extreme state of flux. West Dockland which is more stable has a well developed community structure which is functionally related to the 'caste like' division between itself and the host community. In Northeast Dockland, Negroes are more integrated into the structure of the host society than in the case of the other two. The social position of Anglo-coloureds varies with these regional differences.

The association of Northwest Dockland with the Negro population of Africa and the West Indies goes back to the days of the slave trade. But like West Dockland and Northeast Dockland the present Negro settlement originated in the twentieth century and increased by waves of immigrants after each of the World Wars. Unlike West Dockland, the coloured population is not geographically isolated from the rest of the city, and although the main bulk of the population tends to concentrate in one postal district, the rest is

widely dispersed in the city and its outskirts. The Chinese population is the next largest immigrant group. The Asiatic population include a few Indians, Pakistanis and Arabs. Since the 'thirties,' the Negro population is estimated to have increased ten fold. West Africans are in the majority with the West Indians and Anglo-coloureds following in numerical order. Adult male Negroes are estimated at 4,000, Anglo-coloured women at 1,000 and the remainder of both sexes under twenty-one years of age may amount to another thousand.[2]

The principal male occupation is seafaring. But many Negroes obtain employment as labourers and as skilled and semi-skilled tradesmen in factories. There are three levels of community organization. The first level, confined to the African section and consisting of tribal organizations, reflects the heterogeneity which exists even in this one section of the coloured population. The next level of organization is established on a regional basis in the form of Nigerian, Gold Coasters and West Indian associations. Still more inclusive associations and clubs have political and social functions and include members of various ethnic sub-groups. In addition to these there is a community centre for coloured people and their white friends sponsored by the white community. There are private clubs with liquor licences; some are legitimate concerns but others have the reputation for gambling, hashish smoking and the like.

Northwest Dockland contrasts with West and Northeast Dockland in a number of ways. The Northwest has attracted an overwhelming number of new immigrants since the last war. Many of these now hold jobs which rank higher in the occupational status scale than do the seafaring and unskilled employment which formerly characterised male Negro labour here. The situation of the Negroes *vis-à-vis* the whites here may be described as being in an extreme state of flux owing to these factors among others. In the West and Northeast, the Old Timers have established and maintained some form of a more or less stable structure of their own; or having been sufficiently integrated within the structure of the host society, have been able to maintain a degree of social control over the coloured population. But in Northwest Dockland, the structure is highly unstable. Associations of all sorts have a very short life span, their meetings are militant, and leadership very unstable and changeable. Clashes between coloured and whites are frequent and sometimes serious.

In such a situation where cohesion and stability are so lacking the

Anglo-coloured is in an extreme state of insecurity—the case of marginality *par excellence*. He is conscious of the stereotype held by both whites and Negroes that by being a 'half-caste' it follows that his status must be inferior. He is opposed by whites and immigrants alike, especially by those more recent arrivals with higher status than their predecessors. Compared with the Chinese who are in a superior economic position and are more acceptable to the host society, the Negro Anglo-coloured suffers more from his inferior status. An Anglo-coloured was quoted as saying, 'My mother is English and my father African but I am nothing.' However, an exaggerated description is too often given of the Anglo-coloured situation. The delinquent exploits of a small minority of maladjusted youths give a bad name to the others. But here the negative attitude, the lack of 'drive' and the failure of the Anglo-coloured to achieve higher social status contrasts with the situation in the Northeast and even in the West.

In 1940 the Negro population of West Dockland which has since increased in size was estimated to number about six thousand out of a total of some fifteen thousand living in the suburb, most of whom are either Negroes or Asiatics. The coloured community is somewhat separated from the white community in the town with respect to geographical, cultural and structural features. Describing this coloured community of Negroes and Asiatics Dr. Kenneth Little wrote,[3] 'This peninsular of human habitation is almost literally shut-in and cut-off from the rest of the world by a compact barrier of docks, water, rails, fencing and machinery . . . . The limited access (to the city) serves not only to indicate the physical isolation of the district but perhaps psychologically also to give the city folk and the inhabitants of the peninsula alike, an enhanced sense of their mutual disassociation.' Negro residents who concern us here are handicapped socially and they constitute an under-privileged minority; and because of this the community is held in very low esteem by whites. The residents in appearance and culture are considered as different from and inferior to the rest of the city inhabitants. Even coloured overseas students coming to the city are warned by local whites to avoid the community, which they do. Consequently, West Docklanders have been compelled to live within a caste-like structure, with organizations emerging to satisfy their social needs. They organize their own clubs, societies and sports teams. Comparing life in this community with the host society, an

Anglo-coloured student remarked, 'Life in Dockland is so different from outside. Here we find something real, that means a lot to all of us. People are interested in each other and everybody tries to help one another.'

Since the last war, the status of Anglo-coloureds *vis-à-vis* the whites has begun to rise. The circumstances of the war greatly influenced the process. There was full employment, more money circulated, and a few saved or invested in property. Closer relations were established than previously, with persons of higher status, by those engaged in war service at home and overseas. Young men and women joined the services and served outside the community, while coming into it were West Indians of the R.A.F. and coloured American soldiers stationed nearby. Some of these servicemen married Anglo-coloured girls. The West Indian husbands of two of these girls, for instance, became doctors, while the Americans took their wives to the U.S.A.

The settlement pattern also began to change when houses were allotted by the housing authorities, to West Docklanders, in suburbs outside the main settlement. Consequently, the coloured community became more open to outside influences and began to establish closer links with the host society. One of the most marked effects these changes have had is the stimulus given to the Anglo-coloured to improve their social status. Those admitted into industry during the war are opening the way for others, while others are attaining still higher positions through education and other channels. Nursing and commercial courses are attracting some of the girls and two were being trained as school teachers. Some young men found proficiency in sport a channel for mobility while a few have set themselves up in business.

This trend is significant for Britain as a whole since by acquiring the criteria of middle class status, Anglo-coloureds for the first time in the United Kingdom are rising above the low social position of the Negro community. But the caste-like relationship between Negroes and whites still causes considerable conflict and strain on the Anglo-coloured in the process of status achievement. A person who rises from a lower to a higher social status, assumes new roles and relinquishes some of those roles previously held. Transition from one station to another may cause the aspirant personal as well as social stresses and strains. Thus Dr. Mess[4] writing on valuations in British society gave a very apt example to illustrate how resistance

may be shown to social mobility. He writes 'I have known the life of a boy from a slum home made a misery to him, when a well meaning head teacher found him a job in an office. Each evening when he returned to his street he was received with jeering cries of "Here comes the nice clerk"; his dress, his occupation, his manners, were felt to be out of keeping; let him conform to the ways of his street or go to his own place. This boy actually threw up his clerkship and went to work in a factory.' In dealing with the problem of the Anglo-coloureds in which the racial factor is so much involved, the error of attributing the cause of all social rejections to racial attitudes cannot be overlooked. And even when other factors are considered as well, the stresses and strains of social mobility may be less in one regional context than in another.

The Anglo-coloured situation in West Dockland sometimes provokes acute forms of conflict and strain as the following example illustrates. Ronald's father is a Negro seaman, and his mother Welsh. There are two sisters, of whom the elder emigrated to the U.S.A., the younger is at school, preparing for the Higher School Certificate. The children were born in West Dockland, where, with the exception of the immigrant, they are living with their parents. The father is acutely sensitive to racial prejudice, having himself been imprisoned in South Africa for a breach of racial laws. One of his ambitions is to raise the social position and prestige of coloureds in Dockland not only through his own personal efforts but through those of his children as well. Ronald, who is a student at the University, is keenly aware of these ambitions of his father who is devoted to him and for whom he has great affection. 'My father,' he commented, 'has made sacrifices to provide me with the things I require for my education and ever since I was a child, has placed much trust and confidence in me. And it would disturb me very much to make any decision or act in any way to give him displeasure.'

He told how closely the members of his age group have kept together, strengthening social bonds through their membership of cricket, baseball and table tennis clubs. He himself is very proficient at sport. He was captain of his School Rugby and Cricket teams of which all the members except himself were white and later he gained the honour of captaining his county's Junior Cricket team. During the period in which he played for his school, he also played for the coloured rugby and cricket clubs of West Dockland. These activities made great demands on his time and energy, but he was

reluctant to refuse to play for the coloured club for fear of giving displeasure to the team and disappointing his father. During his first year as a student he took no part in sport, though he would have liked to play for his University. But playing for two teams would adversely affect his academic work. 'I find it difficult to decide the course to follow next year,' he said. 'My ambition is to get into one of the County Leagues and my only chance of doing so is by playing for the University. I think my best course, therefore, would be to play for the University.'

Ronald's social position is adversely affected not only because he is coloured but because he resides in West Dockland. Thus he related how once when with a group of middle class white friends he was asked where he was living. His reply brought the retort, 'Oh no, not in Dockland!' Ronald commented, 'Most people in this town would like to put a gate at the bridge (one of the boundaries) and seal us off from the rest of the city, if they could.' He shares the consensus of opinion of whites and coloureds in the area, that to rise in the social scale, it is necessary for the Anglo-coloured to do better than a white person in order to share an equivalent status. 'I told my coloured boys,' said a white club leader, 'that to achieve a position here, they must behave better and work harder than white lads.' Ronald contributes to this attitude. He stated that during his first year at Grammar School, he felt that 'all eyes were watching him' as he was then the only coloured boy attending the school. He then resolved, he said, to show the school that he was as good as or better than most of his white school mates. So he concentrated all his energies on work and sport, performed very well in the former and excelled in the latter. So deeply engrained in the minds of most coloureds is the belief that the whites will retard their social advancement, that evidence to the contrary usually fails to convince them. Thus the researcher was told that the local University is prejudiced against Anglo-coloureds and is unlikely to admit any of them. Recent cases of admission and success of Anglo-coloureds are treated merely as exceptions.

At the age when the Anglo-coloured enters Grammar School, he is beginning to become increasingly aware of the social implications of skin colour and of his identification with West Dockland subculture. He is transferred from the somewhat protective and homogeneous social environment of West Dockland and placed in an institution where, in race and often in social position, he is aware

of meaningful differences between himself and his mates. He becomes sensitive to the behaviour of whites—staff and pupils alike, towards him. He is not quite certain whether he will be given the status normally accorded to a Grammar School pupil. Thus one boy complained that with the exception of his P.T. Instructor, members of the teaching staff treated him patronizingly. If he were slack in his work, they tended to overlook it rather than punish him like other white boys in his class. The teacher's attitude may be due to sympathy rather than apathy. For as one headmistress explained, the teachers know that in some instances, economic and social circumstances at home may compel the Anglo-coloured to neglect school work. The desire to be treated as an ordinary schoolboy in praise and rebuke, rather than as a *coloured* schoolboy, was illustrated by a headmaster, who related how during his first week at the school and after having caned an Anglo-coloured he was surprised when the boy said, 'Thank you, sir,' an attitude of appreciation which was sincerely meant.

The personal and social conflict of Anglo-coloureds in West Dockland, which results from their changing status, is in fact the outcome of a double transition. It is a transition from the social system which may be called coloured to the social system of white society. It is also a transition from one class level to another. Various attempts are made by the upwardly mobile Anglo-coloured to resolve these conflicts. He may leave the community to reside elsewhere, preferably in a middle class suburb. An Anglo-coloured female shop assistant, safeguarding her achieved social position as a member of a lower middle class white group, remarked that she had no friends among Docklanders, as she explained, 'They do not see things as I see them. I have to be particular, so I keep myself to myself.'

The Anglo-coloured living outside West Dockland may after a time cease to visit the coloured community and relinquish contact with former friends and associates there. David, who was born in West Dockland, moved to the suburb after the death of his coloured father and the re-marriage of his mother to a white man. He made regular visits to West Dockland and participated in its social life, but living in a middle class suburb and associating with Grammar School pupils and college students had so affected his behaviour, that he was sometimes ridiculed by his young coloured associates in West Dockland. Ultimately he became sensitive to these taunts, and ceased visiting the community.

In West Dockland, the conflict is accentuated because the mobile Anglo-coloured passes not only from one class structure into another but also from one social system in Dockland to another, that of the host society. It is a double transition, and the passage involves relinquishing important roles and breaking social ties with the previous group. Status achievement thus means a decisive loss to the Negro community, the members of which may react with disfavour and even with hostility towards the aspirant. But Northeast Dockland presents a contrasting situation.

The Northeastern Negro group is small, comprising less than fifty families and about one hundred and fifty persons, consisting of Negro immigrants, with their wives or consorts and their children. They are settled in three residential areas. The first area settled, a nucleus situated near the docks, is the least desirable residential section of the town, and is inhabited in the main by low status working class whites and newly arrived immigrants, and other coloureds least adjusted to British society. Fanning out from the nucleus and in a better residential area is another segment of the coloured population. The third category of Negroes occupy modern semi-detached houses of five or seven rooms in one of the suburbs, in which they are dispersed among white households. Negro families living in this last area have attained the highest degree of social integration with the host society of the three Negro communities considered. This area has also produced all the upwardly mobile Anglo-coloureds of Northeast Dockland.

In Northeast Negro Dockland in contrast to West and Northwest Dockland, Negro Anglo-coloureds had in general a confident attitude towards life, due largely to the amicable relationship existing between Negroes and whites. Coloured immigrants settling here from other parts of Britain point out this feature as one of the attractions to the Northeast. This amicable relationship is based largely on the esteem which Old Timers enjoyed among whites, and on the size and pattern of the coloured settlement which facilitates frequent interaction between members of the two races. For although Newcomers sometimes oppose Old Timers as well as whites and revolt against the role they are expected to play in the society, Old Timers and some whites have made deliberate efforts to establish close personal relations between the races. Old Timers have managed to maintain social control over the Negro community, due probably to their larger numbers and to the support they receive

from whites. Negroes appoint whites to the executive of their voluntary association (the only one in the community and at present defunct) and Negroes invite whites to social gatherings such as dances and parties. At the annual children's Christmas party organised by a Negro Docklander, each coloured child was obliged to take a white child as guest. The evidence would further suggest correlation between the size and pattern of the coloured group and the degree of acceptance or rejection shown to it by the host society. The tendency has been for opposition to increase as the groups become large and internally integrated. Conversely, a higher degree of acceptance is shown to a small group. It is significant that while Negroes in the Northeast experienced a notable measure of acceptance from whites, their Muslim neighbours were strongly resented and opposed by whites. The Muslims are nearly seven times as many as Negroes. They also have their own separate institutions, and Muslims rioted three times against whites, each occasion resulting in the prosecution and deportation of a number of them. And municipal authorities while segregating the houses of the Muslims *en bloc,* dispersed Negro families among white householders.

Negro children of the Northeast attend six widely separated schools, in which some Anglo-coloureds, especially those excelling in sport, enjoy popularity among their white school mates. An Anglo-coloured was made a prefect in one of these schools. In this community friendships between white and coloured established in school are maintained and developed after school leaving age. Some of the reasons suggested are the residential structure, because Negro Anglo-coloureds are more and more fitting themselves for shore jobs, thus retaining contact and facilitating frequent interaction with whites, and the fact that some Anglo-coloureds had risen in social status above their white mates. Anglo-coloureds were being trained as nurses and stenographers, engineers and tradesmen. In many respects these were 'moving in middle class circles.'

The structural alignment of Negroes *vis-à-vis* whites in Northeast Dockland has therefore put the Negro Anglo-coloured in a more secure social position than in either of the other two Negro communities. It gives him a more confident approach to life, and minimises if it does not remove the personal or social stresses and strains which otherwise might have resulted from the racial opposition or from social mobility.

To summarize; the social position of the Anglo-coloured in Britain

varies with (a) the structural state of the ethnic group to which he belongs, (b) the regional location and structural alignment of the ethnic group to the host society, and (c) the cultural forces of the ethnic group in which he was brought up. In the two Asiatic communities examined, the life of the child was seen to be orientated inwardly to the strong controls of Muslim culture. These controls tend to keep the Anglo-coloured with the ethnic group and retard assimilation with the host society. Negroes, on the other hand, who lack these strong cultural bonds tend, despite racial opposition to orientate their offspring towards the norms and values of British society. In the first of the three Negro communities examined which was in an extreme state of flux, the Anglo-coloured showed much insecurity in his social position. In the second community highly integrated internally and with a 'caste-like' relation *vis-à-vis* the host society, social mobility was the main channel of moving into white society. But mobility causes extreme social and personal conflict to the Anglo-coloured. The members of the third Negro community were, of the three, the most highly integrated into the structure of the host society. Here Anglo-coloureds have shown the greatest confidence in the social position they occupy in the society.

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EFFICIENCY, LEADERSHIP, AND MORALE IN SMALL MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS*

Delbert C. Miller and Nahum Z. Medalia

The Research Problem.

The increasing attention given to human relations in the factory, the school, the home, and in the military establishment has raised many new questions. When guided by human relations concepts, personnel policy gives rise to practices which seek to give greater expression to the needs and wants of the worker and to offer him more information about, and more participation in, matters which affect him.

The military establishments have found that they cannot completely isolate themselves from the more employee-centred procedures which exist in civilian life. When the morale falls in a squadron, division commanders become concerned that the efficiency of the squadron may also fall, or that re-enlistments may be affected. The kind of leadership which will produce both high group morale and high unit efficiency remains an administrative problem. Some division commanders favour a 'tough' disciplinarian while others select a human relations minded leader.

Historically, the military establishments have relied upon a highly authoritarian structure to achieve the discipline required of a well trained soldier. Military leaders who wish to introduce more democratic leaders and practices into their commands are often disturbed lest such a personnel policy will lead to lax discipline and lowered efficiency.

The Air Site Project was established under a United States Air Force Contract at the University of Washington during 1951-1954 to investigate morale problems on isolated radar stations in the Air

Defense Command.[1] This paper describes the results of research into the relationship of efficiency and leadership to the morale of the squadrons studied in the United States. Two questions were set forth for the study of this problem:[2]

1. Is the efficiency of a squadron associated with its group morale?

2. Is the joint occurence of high efficiency and human relations leadership associated with high group morale?

Previous Research Findings.

In Elton Mayo's pioneering studies in industry, efficiency, leadership, and morale were reported as directly related in a positive manner.[3] Numerous studies have been conducted since World War II to investigate this relationship in civilian work groups. These studies are characterized by the use of attitude scales or indices for the measurement of leadership and morale. A summary of findings show the following:-

1. No consistent relationship between morale and efficiency of work groups has been shown. While a positive association has often been shown in research study, the co-existence of low morale and high productivity does occur, high morale and low productivity is also found but somewhat less frequently.[4]

2. A positive relationship between employee-oriented leadership practices and morale has been repeatedly shown.[5]

3. A positive relationship between certain leadership practices and productivity has been demonstrated in a number of studies. It is reported that higher producing supervisors assume more of the functions associated with leadership such as planning the work, spending more time on actual supervision, but practising general not close supervision of employees. High producing supervisors more often secured good communication with employees.[6]

4. There is a very limited knowledge of the social processes operating in the mixed types (low morale and high efficiency, and high morale and low efficiency).[7]

Formulation of the Research Hypothesis.

We know now from research study that four combinations of efficiency and morale occur in various work groups and work plants. These combinations are:

A. High Efficiency High Morale	C. High Efficiency Low Morale
B. Low Efficiency High Morale	D. Low Efficiency Low Morale

The sociological problem is to determine what factors and processes are operating to produce these combinations. The research literature reveals a growing knowledge of the social dynamics in work groups.

Combination A (*High Efficiency-High Morale*) may occur because:

1. Group goals are satisfied such as pride in work groups, group recognition, etc., which contribute to high productivity.

2. Individual goals are satisfied (such as freedom on the job, good wage rate, intrinsic job interest, etc.) so that high motivation is achieved. The resulting high individual morale contributes directly to high productivity.

3. Supervisor is able to motivate employees to higher performance standards by his human relations approach.

4. High productivity produces high morale and high morale reinforces high productivity.[8]

Combination B (*Low Efficiency-High Morale*) may occur because:

1. Worker goals other than those contributing to high productivity are satisfied. (For example—desire for good working conditions, pleasant fellow workers, etc.).

2. The level of individual application is determined informally by the workers who set the work group norms. This is the factor operating in restriction of output.[9]

3. Supervisor lacking technical and administrative skills reduces efficiency of a high morale group.

4. Workers lacking adequate skill or training may show low efficiency but high morale.

Combination C (*High-Efficiency-Low Morale*) may occur because:

1. Supervisor can increase productivity through his skill or through his planning ability rather than through ability to motivate his men.

2. Supervisory and organization practices may stimulate high productivity through the use of fear of penalty or punishment (loss of pay, loss of job).

3. Equipment or process has a built-in productivity such as the fast moving belt line assembly in which speed of production is determined by the pace set by the machinery and not the workers.

Combination D (*Low Efficiency-Low Morale*) may occur because:

1. Absence of any factors stated under Combination A.

With this knowledge the following hypotheses were selected for test:

Hypothesis I. Efficiency and morale are positively associated when such factors are operating as specified under Combination A. Deviant combinations may be expected when factors are operating as specified under Combination B and C.

Hypothesis II. Efficiency, human relations minded leadership, and morale are positively associated when such factors are operating as specified under Combination A. Deviant combinations may be expected to occur under the same conditions as above.

Under Hypothesis II where human relations minded leadership is considered as a second independent factor, a positive association might be expected to occur more frequently than under Hypothesis I.

These hypotheses were tested within the program of the Air Site Project. The research design for the test of the hypotheses can best be understood within the context of the research population.

Research Design.

The Air Site Research Project began in June 1951 to prepare for the measurement of leadership, morale, and efficiency in radar stations. Over a two year period attitude scales and efficiency criteria were constructed, pre-tested, administered, and refined. Intensive study of air sites was carried on by research teams investigating group formation, leadership, organizational structure, and family and community relations.[10] Most of this research was conducted in a division in the Pacific Northwest region. In the Spring of 1953 a nation-wide survey was made of 50 Aircraft Control and Warning (Radar) Stations in the Air Defense Command.[11] These 50 radar stations were carefully drawn as a stratified sample based on the range of isolation present in the total population of sites in the United States. The aim of the survey was to identify major problems of the personnel, measure the morale and efficiency of the units, and to determine attitudes toward leadership and promotion. The squadrons are distributed in all parts of the United States. They constitute independent units located as a rule in isolated or in semi-isolated areas. A 25% sample of the personnel was secured, stratified on the basis of rank (commissioned officers, non-commissioned officers, and enlisted personnel). 1856 persons answered the questionnaire which was administered by the project field teams which went directly to the sites.

The physical layout and organizational structure of each site was very similar. The basic training of personnel was received before assignment to the site and was practically identical. These similarities were most favourable for a comparative analysis of the squadrons. We also had a large number of separate squadron units (50) with repeated time measurements on some of the units.

These conditions made it possible to select sites known to be at the extremes of efficiency and human relations leadership within the total population of radar squadrons. However, the degree of isolation, a variable which was significantly related to morale, varied greatly.

The personnel between sites showed some variation in age, education, and rank, and considerable variation in length of service and marital status. Research analysis on the full sample of 1856 persons had shown that high morale was significantly associated with higher age, higher rank, longer length of service, married personnel, and non-isolation of the site.[12]

Under these conditions, a cross-sectional experimental design was utilized by selecting squadrons known to be high and low in efficiency and which could be matched on those background variables known to be related to morale.[13] An advantage of this design is that it enables a researcher to hold constant certain known interfering variables and to establish if a true relationship exists between the variables he wishes to test. Duplicate matched pairs of squadrons provided an opportunity to replicate the experimental design and make available further evidence for the presence or absence of association.

The Measurement of Morale and Efficiency.

With a design in hand, the construction of measuring instruments becomes of first importance. To measure morale, Guttman type attitude scales were constructed for five morale areas, four of which proved scalable according to conventional criteria.[14] These areas were: Satisfaction with Air Force, Satisfaction with Air Site, Satisfaction with Job, and Personal Commitment to the Mission of an Aircraft Control and Warning Station. The fifth morale area, Personal Esprit, was rejected as non-scalable. The items of the four areas which scaled are shown below.[15] Group morale is defined for this paper as the average scale score secured on any of the four morale dimensions from the sample of respondents in each squadron.

Efficiency rankings of the sites were made by the Division Commander and his staff in each of eight divisions. For their guidance a standardized manual for rating of Aircraft Control and Warning Stations was made available to all divisions and they were requested to follow it if possible.[16] Efficiency rankings were received from 39 squadrons out of 50 in the total survey.

The Association of Efficiency and Morale with Background Variables Controlled. (Hypothesis 1. above).

Squadrons were matched on background factors (Age, Length of Service, Education, Marital Status, Rank and Isolation of Site) by

selecting high and low efficiency squadrons whose frequency distribution on the background factors demonstrated that they were comparable. This resulted in a cross-sectional (after-only) experimental design which is shown in Table 1 for two of the comparisons. Matched comparisons were carried out utilizing data gathered in May, 1952 and May, 1953. This replication of the experiment showed the following results:

> Out of 5 pairs of high-low efficiency squadrons which were matched on six background variables:
> High Efficiency and High Satisfaction with Air Site were found associated in 3 comparisons.
> Low Efficiency and High Satisfaction with Air Site was found associated in 1 comparison.
> No association was found on any of the morale dimensions in 1 comparison.
> No association was found between Efficiency and (a) Satisfaction with Air Force, (b) Job satisfaction or (c) Personal commitment to A. C. & W. Mission in any of the 5 comparisons.

These findings tend to confirm the many other research studies in the *identification of pride and satisfaction with the work group as a major attitude associated with productivity or efficiency.* This is to say that when the Commanding Officer and his staff can establish pride in the work group and give his men a feeling that they are operating efficiently, good group morale results which influences the overall efficiency. Undoubtedly, the attained efficiency, in turn, increases satisfaction with the air site, *provided* it is not at the expense of other individual needs such as personal respect, satisfaction with job, and sense of purpose in the mission.

The association between high satisfaction with the air site and low efficiency found on one comparison indicates that the factors specified in Combination B were operating. Our study of the squadron with this combination showed that worker goals other than those contributing to high efficiency were being satisfied. There were various things done to increase creature comfort such as the opening of a new canteen, relaxation of housekeeping demands, and a liberal issuing of passes. As work standards were relaxed, the efficiency fell, although satisfaction with the air site remained high.

The lack of association between Efficiency and Satisfaction with Air Force, Satisfaction with the Job, and Personal Commitment to the Mission indicates that these morale areas do not vary with efficiency. The influences which affect the service, the job, and the mission are regarded as largely set by higher headquarters and other forces out-

TABLE I

CROSS SECTIONAL EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN FOR DETERMINING RELATIONSHIP OF SQUADRON EFFICIENCY AND MORALE (REPLICATED)

High Efficiency Site	Matching Factors	Site XII	Site X	Measured Differences on Morale Scales
Squadron XII N = 96	Age	M (years) = 22.33 ± 4.93	22.47 ± 4.24	1. Satisfaction with Air Force.
	Length of Service	M (years) = 3.28 ± 2.40	3.12 ± 2.7	2. *Satisfaction with Air Site.
Low Efficiency Site	Education Marital Status	M (years) = 11.28 ± 1.62 % Single = 65	11.16 ± .66 69	3. Job Satisfaction.
Squadron X N = 59	Rank Isolation	% Enlisted = 90 Markedly Isolated	93 Markedly Isolated	4. Personal Commitment to Mission.

High Efficiency Site	Matching Factors	Site II	Site IV	
Squadron II N = 94	Age	M (years) = 22.58 ± 4.74	22.57 ± 4.88	1. Satisfaction with Air Force.
	Length of Service	M (years) = 3.34 ± 2.55	3.16 ± 2.67	2. *Satisfaction with Air Site.
Low Efficiency Site	Education Marital Status	M (years) = 11.41 ± 1.83 % Single = 63	11.11 ± 1.62 68	3. Job Satisfaction.
Squadron IV N = 56	Rank Isolation	% Enlisted = 92 Relatively Isolated	95 Relatively Isolated	4. Personal Commitment to Mission.

* Association determined by Chi Square to be significant at 1% level.

99

side the squadron. On the other hand, Satisfaction with the Air Site is a sensitive measure of the social relationships *within* the squadron and directly attributable to the leadership offered by the Commanding Officer and his staff. (Note such items in the scale as, 'In general, this air site is run very well.').

The failure in one matched pair of squadrons to show any association with any of the morale dimensions is intriguing. It is known that the efficiency of some sites is aided by technical and geographical advantages, by the presence or absence of skilled radar mechanics, and by excellent commissioned and non-commissioned officers who may be respected when the commanding officer is not. These factors intervene to obscure any true relationship which might otherwise exist between the morale of the squadron and its efficiency.

Summing up, the weight of the evidence validates part of Hypothesis I by affirming an association between *Air Site Morale and Squadron Efficiency* when specified factors are operating.

The Association of Efficiency, Human Relations Minded Leadership, and Morale with Background Variables Controlled. (Hypothesis II above).

The association of Air Site morale with site efficiency suggests that the joint appearance of high efficiency and a human relations minded leader might indicate a uniformly high frequency of association with squadron morale. A previous study of human relations leadership had shown that such leadership was definitely associated with air site morale, air force morale, and personal commitment to the mission.[17] The hypothesis to be tested is that the joint occurrence of human relations leadership and squadron efficiency is associated with morale. Such a test requires a measure of a leader's human relations perception.

The Measurement of Human Relations Mindedness of the Leader.

Leadership was studied, in this research programme, in terms of the perceptions that men on air sites had of the human relations mindedness of their commanding officer. Human relations mindedness on the part of a leader was defined in terms of two principal content-areas: (1) emphasis on obtaining the voluntary co-operation of followers; (2) emphasis on achieving adequate communication with followers. Such communication was broken down into two subareas: (a) a general other-orientation or other-centredness or the

part of the leader; (b) a sensitivity to inter-personal feelings and social norms of followers related to their work situation.

A Likert type scale consisting of 10 items was devised to measure followers'· perceptions of their leader's human relations mindedness, in terms of these content-areas. The scale items are shown herein.[18]

Testing the joint occurrence of Human Relations-Minded Leadership and Squadron Efficiency with Squadron Morale, Background and Variables Controlled.

Our design called for a selection of squadrons which had both High Human Relations Leadership Perception and High Efficiency and comparative squadrons which ranked low on both Leadership Perception and Efficiency. Pairs were selected which were found to match on the six factors : age, length of service, education, marital status, rank, and isolation.

Three pairs meeting all criteria were found and showed the following results :

2 pairs out of 3 show that high efficiency and high human relations leadership perception are associated with satisfaction with air site.
1 pair out of 3 shows no association between the three variables.
All 3 pairs show no association with (a) satisfaction with air force, (b) job satisfaction, and (c) personal commitment to mission.

These findings support Hypothesis II to the extent that the joint occurrence of efficiency and of human relations minded leadership is associated with air site morale when specified factors are operating. The absence of such association in one comparison is interpreted as due to the intrusion of other variables than those we have been able to control. The failure of any comparison to indicate an association between efficiency and the three morale dimensions, satisfaction with air force, job satisfaction, and personal commitment to mission must be interpreted as in the case of Hypothesis I. These morale areas include attitudes attributed by personnel as set by higher headquarters or social influences outside the squadron.

Obviously, there are many organizational conditions and leadership influences that have not been either understood or controlled in previous research. The identification and control of an increasing number of variables still await theoretical and research advance. Meanwhile, it seems sound to conclude in the absence of such data that a leader who can organize and is able to establish perceptions of himself as human relations minded has a much better than chance probability of achieving high morale and high efficiency in the group

he leads. An observational study of one squadron which was the highest on efficiency, leadership, and morale in its division was made over a two year period. An entire social climate was formed in the squadron which seemed to sweep most of the social attitudes into a favourable direction for both satisfying living and efficient workmanship. We have observed this squadron change from a low morale, low efficiency squadron to its high morale, high efficiency position under the influence of a new commanding officer. We know that the individual efforts of a leader are compelling for building such a social climate. Yet leaders who succeed in one squadron have been observed to fail in another. Leaders must have technical, administrative, and social skills. They must also have a group organizational setting which is reinforcing, not antagonistic, to their attempts to lead.

Summary of Findings.

1. The efficiency of a squadron is associated with morale attitudes involving satisfaction with the air site. There is no association indicated between efficiency and such attitude areas as (a) Satisfaction with the Air Force, (b) Satisfaction with the Job, or (c) Personal Commitment to the Mission. The lack of association with these three morale dimensions is explained as due to factors operating outside of the squadron that are attributable to higher headquarters or general social conditions.

Deviant combinations of air site morale and efficiency do appear and must be explained by the intervention of various physical and social factors such as specified for Combination B and C.

2. The joint occurrence of efficiency and human relations minded leadership is associated with air site morale. The evidence indicates that the joint occurrence of efficiency and human relations minded leadership may increase the relationship with air site morale.

Conclusion.

Research results from investigations into civilian work groups have shown no consistent relationship between morale and efficiency. This research study on military organizations shows a positive association between air site morale and efficiency but not uniformly so. Deviant combinations do occur. The four types of combination between morale and efficiency which have been identified in various work plants invite a description of the social processes that operate. Taking

the explanations of all four types together, there seem to be four basic propositions as to the cause of high efficiency.

1. Workers produce more if they have group goals which require high production for their satisfaction.

This is true, however, only under the conditions that the group goals require higher production; when group goals are indifferent or hostile to high production, then high morale may co-exist with low production.

2. Workers produce more if they are happy with their working conditions.

This is the commonest notion but it is not well explored. Obviously, physical comforts alone will not increase production. The critical element identified in most studies is the supervisor and the relations he builds with his workers.

3. Workers will produce if you reward them to do so, and dismiss them for not doing so, even though they may be generally unhappy about their work.

This is the notion which underlies the assumption that unemployment or the threat of unemployment is conducive to more productive work.

4. Workers will produce more if they are given more productive equipment or processes irrespective of their morale.

This is the assumption behind much industrial engineering including time and motion study. The level of wages may be an important accompanying factor.

More case studies utilizing attitude scales and efficiency measures are now definitely indicated in the next research advance. A number of alternate hypotheses suggest themselves for study. The first is that efficiency and morale are positively related only when the leader is able to bring the individual and group goals of workers into close conformance with efficiency goals of the organization. It appears that this synthesis between co-operation and organization may pose varying difficulties for the leader depending upon many personal and organizational characteristics under which he attempts to lead. The recruiting of personnel, their selection, training, placement, and payment may be completely or partially outside his control. Operational policies may be set by higher levels of command. These factors may intrude and make his leadership ineffective in securing morale and efficiency no matter how human relations minded he may be seen to be. The lack of association shown in this study between efficiency and such attitude variables as Satisfaction with Air Force, Job Satisfaction and Personal Commitment to Mission, indicates that outside factors in the institutional setting are operating. In some instances these factors probably reinforce human relations leadership, and in other instances, they probably work against its positive influence on morale and/or efficiency. Collaboration between various levels of command leadership appears to be of great importance in

creating the organizational setting in which the squadron leader can be effective.

A second hypothesis is that a leader who is a good administrator and gives single-minded devotion to efficient task performance will be as successful in achieving unit morale as one who applies human relations skills to achieve that end. The hypothesis assumes that a high level of efficiency will create a high level of morale. If this hypothesis were proved true, the preoccupation with morale would seem to be misplaced since morale would appear as a by-product of an efficient, well-organized work group. In the midst of critical conditions when the necessities of the situation require action, it may be that morale is best generated by the confidence that the managing officer is efficient regardless of other negative opinions which may be held by his followers about his personnel policies. Under peaceful conditions attention to human relations may be the most important determinant of morale and efficiency especially as demands grow for sustained performance and low turnover rates.

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[1] A full description of the project may be found in Delbert C. Miller: 'The Shaping of Research Design in Large Scale Group Research,' *Social Forces*, May, 1955.

[2] Other relationships between these three variables are described in Nahum Z. Medalia and Delbert C. Miller: 'Human Relations Leadership and the Association of Morale and the Effectiveness of Work Groups,' *Social Forces*, May, 1955.

[3] Elton Mayo: *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization,* Harvard University Press, 1945.

[4] These findings are based on a summary of research reported by Robert L. Kahn and Daniel Katz on work conducted by the Survey Research Center. They report that their studies include the home office of an insurance company, maintenance-of-way section gangs on a railroad, an electric utility, an automotive manufacturer, a tractor company, an appliance manufacturer, and two agencies of the federal government. See 'Leadership Practices in Relation to Productivity and Morale,' in *Group Dynamics,* edited by Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander Row, Peterson and Co., Evanston, 1953. pp. 625. cf. Nancy C. Morse: *Satisfactions in the White Collar Job,* Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, 1953. pp. 165.

A finding of negative correlation between job satisfaction and perceived productivity is reported by University of California researchers in the work of two divisions in a naval research laboratory. See Irving R. Weschler, Murray Kahane, and Robert Tannenbaum: 'Job Satisfaction, Productivity and Morale: A Case Study,' Reprint No. 23, Institute of Industrial Rela-

tions, University of California, Los Angeles, 1952. p. 7; William J. Goode and Irving Fowler also confirm the existence of high productivity and low morale in a Detroit electro-plating plant. See 'Incentive Factors in a Low Morale Plant,' *American Sociological Review*, October, 1949, 14: pp. 618-624.

⁵ The human relations-minded or employee-oriented supervisor in contrast to the production-oriented or institution-oriented supervisor is associated with the satisfaction of the employee with the job, supervisor, and the company for which he works. See Kahn and Katz, *op. cit.*, p. 622; Cf. Nancy C. Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 165. Also Weschler, et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

⁶ Kahn and Katz, *op. cit.*, pp. 613-623.

⁷ Louis Schneider and Sverre Lysgard: 'Deficiency and Conflict in Industrial Sociology,' *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, October, 1952, 12: pp. 49-62. See also research analysis of Nancy C. Morse, *op. cit.*

⁸ Daniel Katz and Herbert Hyman reported a circular causal relation between morale and production in their study of five shipyards during World War II. See 'Morale in War Industries,' in *Readings in Social Psychology*, Edited by T. Newcomb and E. Hartley, H. Holt, 1947. pp. 437-447.

⁹ Solomon Barkin: 'Discussion' in *Proceedings of the Industrial Relations Research Association*, Madison, Wisconsin, 1952. p. 38.

¹⁰ F. James Davies: 'Conception of Official Leader Roles in the Air Force,' *Social Forces*, 32: 3 (March, 1954). pp. 253-258; F. J. Davis and Robert Hagedorn: 'Testing the Reliability of Systematic Field Observations,' *American Sociological Review*, 19: 3 (June, 1954). pp. 345-348; Edward Gross: 'Some Functional Consequences of Primary Controls in Formal Work Organizations,' *American Sociological Review*, 18: 4 (August, 1953). pp. 368-371; E. Gross: 'Primary Functions of the Small Group,' *American Journal of Sociology*, 60: 1 (July, 1954). pp. 23-29; C. D. McGlamery: 'Developing an Index of Work Group Communication,' *Research Studies, State College of Washington*, 21: 1953. pp. 225-230; N. Z. Medalia: 'Unit Size and Leadership Perception,' *Sociometry*, 17: 1 (February, 1954). pp. 64-67; N. Z. Medalia: 'Measuring Followers' Perception of a Leader's Human Relations Mindedness,' *Journal of Applied Psychology* (forthcoming).

¹¹ The senior author, as Director of Air Site Project, had overall responsibility for conduct of the survey. He was assisted in carrying out this responsibility by Glenn C. McCann, Field Supervisor for the survey, and by Edward Gross, Nahum Medalia, and Orvis Collins, professional sociologists.

¹² Glen C. McCann: *The National Survey of Air Craft Control and Warning Stations*. Final Report to Human Resources Research Institute, Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, 1953.

¹³ Cf. F. Stuart Chapin: *Experimental Designs in Sociological Research*, Harper and Bros., New York, 1947. pp. 29-50; Ernest Greenwood: *Experimental Sociology*, King's Crown Press, New York, 1945. pp. 108-145; M. Jahoda, M. Deutsch and S. Cook: *Research Methods in Social Relations*, Dryden Press, New York, 1951. Part 1: pp. 64-74.

¹⁴ Responsibility for the scales was shared by Donald Garrity and Glen McCann, the conventional criteria for judging the scales include reproducibility and randomness of error.

Delbert C. Miller and Nahum Z. Medalia

[15] *Satisfaction with Air Force* (All items answered by Strongly Agree, Agree, Undecided, Disagree, Strongly Disagree). (Co-efficient of Reproducibility = ·93).

  1. I have a poor opinion of the Air Force most of the time.
  2. Most of the time the Air Force is not run very well.
  3. I am usually dissatisfied with the Air Force.
  4. The Air Force is better than any of the other Services.
  5. If I remain in military service I would prefer to stay in the Air Force.

Satisfaction with the Air Site (Co-efficient of Reproducibility = ·90).

  1. In general this Air Site is run very well.
  2. This Air Site is the best in the whole Division.
  3. I am usually dissatisfied with this Air Site.
  4. I would rather be stationed at this Air Site than any I know about.
  5. I would like to stay at this Air Site.

Satisfaction with the Job (Co-efficient of Reproducibility = ·90).

  1. I would be more satisfied with some other job in AC&W than I am with my usual job.
  2. My Air Force job is usually interesting to me.
  3. I believe the Air Force has placed me in a job which suits me very well.
  4. I believe my Air Force job is usually worthwhile.
  5. If I have a chance, I will change to some other job at this Site.

Personal Commitment to A. C. & W. Mission (Co-efficient of Reproducibility = ·94).

  1. Under present world conditions I would advise many of my civilian friends to get into AC&W if they should ask my advice on joining the service. (a) No, I would advise them to stay out of AC&W. (b) I would tell them it makes no difference what you join. (c) Yes, I would advise them to join AC&W.
  2. Under present world conditions I feel that I can do more for my country as a member of AC&W than as a civilian. (a) No, I would be more valuable as a civilian. (b) I am undecided about this. (c) Yes, I am more valuable in AC&W.
  3. Under present world conditions I feel that I can do more for my country as a member of some other part of the armed services, rather than a member of AC&W. (a) Yes, I could be of more value elsewhere in the armed services. (b) It is a toss-up where I could contribute the most. (c) No, I am of more value in AC&W.
  4. Under present world conditions I feel I can do more for my country as a member of AC&W. than some other part of the Air Force. (a) No, I would be of more value elsewhere in the Air Force. (b) I'm about of equal value any place in the Air Force. (c) Yes, I am definitely more valuable in AC&W.
  5. If present world conditions continue to be about the same, I would want to continue to be a member of AC&W as long as I remain in military service. (a) No, I would want to transfer from AC&W. (b) It doesn't matter whether I am in AC&W or not. (c) Yes, I would definitely want to remain in AC&W.
  6. If the US should enter a third world war and if I should remain in military service, I would want to stay in AC&W. (a) No, I prefer to be in some other part of the service. (b) It wouldn't make such differences where I serve. (c) Yes, I would prefer to remain in AC&W. (All of the above items are interspersed when they are administered).

[16] This manual was prepared by Delbert C. Miller. The efficiency rating system was developed and utilized by the 25th Division, Air Defense Command. The manual is available from the Human Resources Research Institute, under the title, *A Squadron Efficiency Rating System for Aircraft Control and Warning Stations*, Air Force Project No. 505-036-0001.

[17] Chi Square Tests of Association were significant at the 5% level.

[18] Human Relations Leadership Perception (split half reliability coefficient = .96). All items answered by Strongly Agree, Agree, Undecided, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.

My Commanding Officer thinks he must rely on his rank to get things done.

My Commanding Officer wants to discuss with the men in this squadron things that are personally important to them.

My Commanding Officer believes he must keep after the men all the time to make them work.

My Commanding Officer thinks that he should consider how men feel about each other in setting up working teams.

My Commanding Officer cares very little how the men in this squadron feel about him.

My Commanding Officer wants enlisted men to know the reasons behind his requests and orders in this squadron.

My Commanding Officer cares about the men in this squadron for their own sake.

My Commanding Officer only cares about his own ideas.

My Commanding Officer thinks that enlisted men are very inferior to officers.

My Commanding Officer cares whether people get along together in this squadron.

A NOTE ON THE SOCIAL SANCTIONS OF SOCIAL RESEARCH

A. T. M. Wilson

In discussions between research workers in the social sciences the general subject of this note is frequently raised, at all stages from a first estimate of the practical possibilities of a project to a final consideration of what may, or may not, be included in a formal publication. Public information on the topic is, however, difficult to find, and for that reason the illustrative material used below may be acceptable, although it deals with professional practice rather than research and is taken from an American weekly which is not scientific in character.

This weekly[1] has a considerable reputation for responsibility and accuracy. A recent article, by a competent staff writer of considerable insight, dealt with the social background of an adolescent convicted of a brutal murder in New York City. Correspondence, in the following issue, included congratulatory letters from an internationally known criminologist and from the Dean of a leading school of social work. A third letter was, however, critical, and contained the point of the example. The writer of this letter, a reader in a small mid-West town, gave first a quotation from the article and went on to make a comment on this. The quotation was: 'But Dr. W...' (the psychiatrist) 'went further. He got permission from Judge B... to examine K...' (the adolescent murderer) 'as much as he wished before the trial; and the psychiatrist spent many hours with the boy, gaining his confidence. Since he believes that the violation of this confidence is not only permissible in such special circumstances, but might be helpful in the interests of truth, Dr. W... has told this writer the essence of these interviews.' The comment on this by the writer of the letter reads in part as follows: 'Dr. W... has strange ideas about confidence ... what of his patients?. I don't doubt that many of those troubled persons reading this article will consciously, almost surely unconsciously, begin a

A. T. M. Wilson

strategic withdrawal of confidence from him. Who knows when a patient will become a "special circumstance . . . in the interests of truth"? It is wearisome that the author of the article should lend herself to complicity with Dr. W . . . in the denigration of professional ethics.'

Both statutory and professional conditions are greatly different in the United Kingdom. The main point of the illustration, however, concerns not formal but informal sanctions against breaches of professional confidence—withdrawal of confidence from the doctor by the patient and, as a further result, some possible degree of mistrust of doctors in general in relation to confidential information. The reaction described by the critical correspondent quoted is unlikely to be regional; medical experience would support the suggestion that these informal sanctions are, as a rule, both rapid and powerful in any professional situation.

The importance of professional aspects of the role of social research worker needs to be considered before these remarks about professional practice can be applied to research, and some comments on this will be given later; but a tentative general statement about social responsibility and research will first be made for consideration. This general thesis may be roughly stated as follows: assuming agreement that science is a general—and operationally definable— approach to the study and understanding of phenomena, the concepts, the methods, and the social utility of the findings of the scientific research worker will differ from one kind of scientific enquiry to another, depending partly on the nature and on the stage of development of the type of work concerned, and partly on technical considerations affecting method. Nevertheless, irrespective of these differences, the research worker in any branch of scientific work cannot avoid some degree of social responsibility for his activities and for their social consequences. In the long run the provision of some of the basic conditions and facilities necessary for his work is likely to be affected by community attitudes towards that work, and towards his degree of acceptance of social responsibility for it. Such community attitudes may be formally expressed in law and a relevant professional organisation may possess additional social sanctions or control. Nevertheless, community disapproval of certain breaches of what is regarded as social or professional responsibility may be directly expressed by the informal mechanism of withdrawal of confidence, or of co-operation, or of support, from the research

or from the research worker concerned. It is perhaps even more important that these may be withdrawn from other research workers in the same area of activity. To conclude this general statement three last points should be made: first, these considerations are more deeply rooted and expressed in law, and in professional regulations or *mores*, than is the tradition of academic freedom of research; secondly, academic freedom of research, in its widest sense, is at variance with the rights of the individual citizen where the behaviour of the latter is the subject of scientific enquiry; and thirdly, where the research worker in social science accepts the need for social and professional responsibility in his enquiries it is often possible to overcome the conflict of interest between research and the rights of the individual.

This over-general statement may be illustrated by familiar examples in different areas of research. Support for the most general of these points may be derived from recent developments in public and governmental attitudes towards the natural sciences, and by the rapid development of interest in problems of social responsibility among natural scientists; for in that field social responsibility for findings has sometimes been regarded as no concern of the research worker. This last attitude was particularly obvious in research areas where application of findings is subject to almost absolute social control, for example, by statutory regulation of the manufacture, and use, of dangerous or explosive chemicals. A similar state of affairs exists with regard to bio-chemical research and its application in, say, nutrition; but as we move from the bio-chemistry of marketed foods to applications of the bio-chemistry of human reproduction, the existence of informal as well as formal community controls once more becomes clear. In general there appears to have been a considerable weakening, in recent years, of the attitude that it is no part of the research worker's duty to accept responsibility for use of his findings.

If we accept the point that it is at least difficult for any scientific worker to be beyond community control whatever his personal view of the matter may be, it is also true that he can be given a considerable degree of freedom from any direct community control through academic or governmental bodies, which provide both support and protection. In this situation, however, he is sanctioned and controlled by bodies which, in their turn, have accepted a sanctioned and controlled relationship with the community as a whole. Whatever a research worker may desire, therefore, it is

difficult to imagine him as 'free,' except in the special circumstances of possessing private finance for his work and having no interest in communicating or applying his results.

The points just made are perhaps most obvious where research on human behaviour is concerned; and certain additional controls become clear in such work. Indeed, although the matter is seldom discussed from this point of view, the law actually provides sanctions *against* observation of behaviour, and *against* communication of such observation in certain circumstances. These circumstances appear to centre less on the kind of behaviour concerned than on the consequences which observation, or communication, may have for the subject observed. The relevant law deals mainly with libel, with slander, with professional contracts, and conceivably with what is called trespass. It is complicated by what is termed 'privilege.' The subject is not simple but may be left if we accept that observation of the behaviour of others, and particularly communication of what has been observed, are activities covered to an extent by existing law aimed at protecting the privacy of the individual. The relevance of such laws to social research is not always fully recognised. In such matters our more adventurous colleagues of the press are more often in legal difficulties than are psychiatrists, psychologists, sociologists and anthropologists; on the other hand, there is a section of public opinion which holds that such legal action is perhaps less frequent than would be preferred by those who have been the subject of intrusive observation, of whatever kind. The possibility of legal actions as a result of field work on groups of varied size has seldom been discussed in print; and there is at least one reason why this may be so. Publication of observations on the social behaviour of a group, as contrasted with an individual, changes the legal situation in a practical, but not in a theoretical, sense; damage to a specific, individual member of a group is much more difficult of proof than damage to an individual. However reassuring this may be to the critical social observer, the situation takes on a rather different aspect when it is looked at from the point of view of the public relations of social research. Difficulty in bringing a legal action is unlikely to be associated with active provision of the support, co-operation or interest so often required in launching a research project or developing a programme of research in the field of social behaviour.

Although certain restrictions to social research are suggested by legal considerations, large areas of social behaviour appear to be

relatively neutral with respect to the consequences of observation, or communication of observations, so far as those observed are concerned. This appears to be true of such areas as, for example, consumer behaviour, whether or not an explicit statement of the relevant sanctions has been made by the research worker to the subjects of his observation, or to his informants. Many topics of general public interest have this legally 'neutral' character, in that they do not lie in an area of immediate or possible future controversy; but one difficulty is that the definition of such controversial areas may vary greatly from one geographical region, or from one period of time, to another. This might be the case, for example, with voting behaviour.

Since the professional sanctions affecting medical practice and allied research are usually recognisable, some further points may be raised by reference to relatively familiar experience in that field. 'Neutral' studies of the kind indicated above may be said to be analogous to an invitation—say, to a national sample of population —to contribute a small quantity of blood, for example, to some genetic research; or to volunteer for a radiological examination of the chest. The limits of such physiological investigations on human subjects vary somewhat with the sanctions of the organisations and individuals which undertake them. Even so, these limits are wide enough for many research purposes; but where a topic under investigation deals with an area or function of the body, or an area of the mind, or with attitudes or behaviour widely regarded as 'private'—or where the topic lies near the boundary or any accepted norm of social behaviour—further steps usually need to·be taken to obtain co-operation by providing against harm to those to be studied. The common procedure is a personal or professional guarantee of anonymity with respect to publication; but difficulties can at once arise here by the undisclosed withholding of important pieces of information.

To go a little further; but still within the medical field, the model of clinical research offers at least food for thought, although there are difficulties in regarding it as a general case. In clinical research the professions concerned, either directly or with medical 'cover,' have slowly earned for their activities the right to community sanction, both formal and informal. They have acquired a body of knowledge; in the familiar phrase, they 'mutually guarantee the competence of their members;' and, where anonymity of the patient and professional

confidence are concerned, the penalties for breaking the relevant regulations explicit or implicit, are as direct as in ordinary medical practice. Clinical research is undertaken under an additional voluntary clause, as it were, in the professional contract between patient and doctor. Such research ordinarily forms a relatively small proportion of the total professional work of a practitioner or therapeutic organisation; and, were a doctor or hospital to declare themselves to be primarily concerned with research, and only secondarily with treatment, it is probable that they would suffer from a lack of patients. This is an important point in the organisation of research. On the other hand, reassured that a hospital or doctor will do what can be done to help with illness, patients will frequently go to surprising lengths in volunteering to collaborate in experiments which can hardly be conceived possible under conditions other than those of a professional relationship.

To leave this specific type of research, it can be said that in the particular matter of professional confidence in relation to communication of findings there seems to be more similarity than might at first appear, for example, between the clergy, accountants, industrial consultants, doctors, and other professional groups. Judgment with regard to the probable results of public communication of information obtained through professional work is seldom easy. It is relevant to this discussion to note that it appears to depend on the degree of development, and of public acceptance, of the professional character of the relationship concerned; on the degree of anonymity provided by the size of the practice of the person making the communication; and on certain other factors. In each of the professional groups mentioned the important point appears to be the same: the power, or the absence of power, or the informal sanction provided by loss of professional standing or practice wherever professional confidence is breached. The power of this sanction in the Church, in Law and in Medicine is not perhaps always apparent, for such matters tend to be handled discreetly by the professions; but it may at least be indicated by the American example given at the beginning of this note.

In social research the areas of greatest difficulty over sanction are probably those where the attitude of the research worker toward professional responsibility is unclear or evasive; or where the subject of the observation—or respondent or informant—does not know he is being studied; or where he has no background of experience to

enable him to comprehend the possible results of his co-operation, active or passive. It is possible that past situations, whereby research workers managed to acquire information before the significance of what had been acquired had been fully grasped by those who provided it, have had some effect on the rather uncertain public attitude towards social research; but this cannot be the only factor contributing to the stereotype of the 'guinea pig,' which is such a regular feature of early discussions with potential research subjects or informants. Conversely, it is perhaps an extreme comment to suggest that social research, or communication of its results without adequate sanction, may conceivably be as justifiable, in certain unusual circumstances, as law-breaking; but experience suggests, so far as social research needs public co-operation, the extent to which such practice will be tolerated must be regarded as minimal. Examples of unsanctioned observation and communication have certainly proved costly to research in general; but it may be useful to anticipate a possible criticism by saying that the claim of a research worker to be concerned with 'truth,' as an end which justifies unsanctioned means, has, in the extreme case, been held to justify human vivisection; and although the same argument has been put forward to justify telephone wire-tapping by detectives—a current *cause célèbre* in the United States—the cost of destroying social confidence in privacy has usually been recognised as excessive, except in extreme circumstances of danger to the community.

To conclude, different social research organisations, with different fields of interest and preferred methods, will obviously vary in the extent to which they are concerned with the problems outlined in this note. At the Tavistock Institute, for example, we are concerned with the dynamics of change processes in the smaller units of society, and prefer to operate within a consultant or professional relationship. We have, therefore, no alternative but to be definite in relation to the matters under discussion. The matter was put in technical form in the first published statement of policy:[2] 'The work of the Institute is based on the assumption that the social research worker is himself an inevitable factor in influencing the social behaviour he observes. It follows that the implications of the role he takes, and the effects of the publication of any findings, need careful consideration as part of the design of his work. Project work undertaken by the Institute on behalf of client organisations is based on this assumption. Generally, the Institute takes a professional role in assisting with

specific problems, but within this relationship there is included a research component whose nature and extent is fully agreed with the client organisation. In some instances, the agreed research amounts to little more than the opportunity of technical experience, while in others there has recently been the opportunity to begin the formulation and validation of concepts, hypotheses, and methods. Professional roles of this kind have been found to provide access to data and situations which would otherwise be unobtainable or inaccessible for scientific purposes. In addition, they have often proved to be an important stimulus for the development and testing of concepts and methods concerned with understanding social behaviour, social adaptation, and social change.' The general issues concerned, and details of a specific example, have been fully described elsewhere.[3]

In the end, the type of professional ethic familiar in the formally recognised professions will need to be built up in relation to some types of social research; and attempts in this direction are familiar in the instances of the American Psychological Society[4] and, in that same country, of the Group for Applied Anthropology,[5] as well as of the Australian Branch of the British Psychological Society.[6] But the building up of such an ethic is not merely a matter of long discussions toward agreement on some verbal formula; such an ethic is only effective where it is based on publicly recognised and accepted standards of professional behaviour. The purpose of this note is merely to draw attention to some practical aspects of this problem, and to suggest that it justifies careful thought in certain types of research project.

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[1] *The Reporter*, March 3rd, 1955, New York.

[2] Tavistock Institute (1950): *Work and Developments, 1946-50.*

[3] Jacques, E. (1951): *The Changing Culture of a Factory.* Tavistock Publications Ltd., particularly pp. xiii-xvii and 3-23.

[4] American Psychological Society (1953): *Ethical Standards of Psychologists.* Especially Sections 4.31, 4.32 and 5.31.

[5] Society for Applied Anthropology (1949): 'Report of the Committee on Ethics.' *Human Organisation 8*, No. 2, pp. 20-21.

[6] Australian Branch, British Psychological Society (1950): 'Code of Professional Ethics Governing Disclosure by Qualified Psychologists of Psychological Information about Individuals.' *Quarterly Bulletin*, Australian Branch, British Psychological Society, I, No. 8.

REVIEWS

Social Structure and Personality in a City. Edited by O.
A. Oeser and S. B. Hammond. Pp. xxii + 344. Rout-
ledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1954. 30s.

Social Structure and Personality in a Rural Community
by O. A. Oeser and F. E. Emery. Pp. xiii + 279.
Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1954. 25s.

The Unwritten Law in Albania by Margaret Hasluck.
Pp. xv + 285. Cambridge University Press, London,
1954. 30s.

Major expectations might well be aroused by the titles of the first
two volumes, reinforced by their handsome appearance. They are
based on research carried out by the Department of Psychology
founded in 1946 under Professor Oeser at Melbourne University.
Begun as a training project for students, the research was developed
at the request of UNESCO into part of 'an international study of
communities and social tensions.'

The elaborate preparation and presentation seem hardly justified
by the results. On a general level of abstraction, such as is implied
by the titles, no striking new idea emerges. On the particular level
of life in the urban setting of Melbourne and the rural setting of
the Mallee, there is too little information to sustain so much
discussion. The fundamental weakness is the dependence on the
questionnaire and the absence of direct observation. The virtuosity
with which the responses are analysed cannot make up for this
deficiency. For instance, after describing a factor analysis of opinions
on anti-semitism, ('Thurstone centroid analysis for two factors.
Rotation to a bipolar position on the second factor'), the authors go
on to admit that 'the reason why more space is not given to this
important topic is that this factorial scoring of individuals depends
upon too many assumptions.' It is as though the only data these
field-workers can make use of are pieces of paper, rather than live
Australians. The moral would seem to be that social psychologists

are not always social enough to undertake community studies in separation from other kinds of social scientist.

Melbourne itself disappears in the haze though it is interesting to learn that 'the most common kind of housing in the city and that which is preferred is a detached house set in its own grounds.' The urban volume discusses attitudes to immigrants of different nationalities; patterns of inter-action in the family; and attitudes towards perceived social strata—in each case as revealed by answers to questionnaires. These topics can hardly be said to add up to an adequate treatment either of the social structure of an Australian city or of the urban Australian personality type. The rural volume is on similar lines. Only occasionally does one have glimpses of actual social behaviour, and it is significant that these are reported on hearsay. For example there are the 'secret and riotous parties' held by a minority group 'in a shed out on a farm— "the Shanty".' On these parties the authors comment with their usual portentousness: 'It seems likely that the participants lack the means to discharge tensions through the formal leisure organisations.'

It is difficult to make a reviewer's link between the studies from Australia and Albania except the obvious one that they deal with very different types of society and are based on very different types of research. The late Mrs. Hasluck lived for thirteen years in Albania and she has set down soberly and carefully the blood-thirsty record of Albanian customary law. This is a country where village boundaries are marked by the graves of murdered men; where small children are killed in vengeance; and where, in 1912, a tribal assembly having decided that a certain family was misconducting itself, all seventeen members of the family (including children of five and twelve) were individually ambushed and shot on a single day. The murders and counter-murders are all, of course, carried out according to strict rules, and all members of the society are subject to a particularly harsh and rigorous type of social control. Yet, as Mrs. Hasluck insists 'The community sense was fostered by every art the mountaineers knew . . . The humblest man was encouraged to regard his village or group of villages as his personal property . . . This close relationship between individual and community was . . a curb on dictatorship . . In fact, the self-government of the Albanian mountaineers went far towards being true democracy in the Anglo-American sense of that much abused word.'

The unwritten law deals, one must add, with many matters less

spectacular than the blood-feud, for instance with the maintainance of roads and paths, with the establishment of boundaries, with pasturage and with the division of an inheritance between brothers. Ready ·as are Albanian fingers for the trigger, the influence of the 'elders' who transmit the law is on the side of the non-violent, agreed solution. One of Mrs. Hasluck's most interesting chapters describes 'The Law of the Dog.' Four types of dog are recognised: (a) chained dogs, (b) sheep dogs, (c) shooting dogs and (d) pet dogs. Not only are there different rules for each type, but each has its own canine culture-pattern due, it would seem, as much to training as to heredity. Of the chained dogs, for instance, it is said that: 'As puppies they were never caressed or even addressed kindly by their master and his children. Indeed, they were often teased deliberately in order to make them lose their tempers.' The law stipulated that these ferocious animals must be chained an hour before sunrise and might not be loosed till an hour after sunset. During the day-time, the law was on the side of the stranger against the house-dog, but during the night 'even if a house-dog killed a stranger there was no compensation, the death went unavenged.' If, on the other hand the stranger killed the house-dog 'he must pay blood money or have a feud with its master, exactly as if it was the latter he had killed.'

Sheep-dogs 'were given the same harsh upbringing as house-dogs. Indeed, they were generally removed at a still earlier age from their mother so that they should not know even her caresses for long.' Shooting-dogs on the other hand 'had the run of the house and kitchen as well as the farmyard and were never tied up. Born gentle, they were well enough treated by their masters to remain so throughout their lives.' Pet dogs similarly; though 'they were so brave that at sheepfolds they could dash out and tackle a marauding wolf, invariably losing their life in the unequal combat.'

As in their dogs, so in themselves the Albanians seem to have induced personalities which fitted in with their rough way of life on mountain and in forest. After being a Turkish province for centuries, then occupied by Austro-Hungary in the first world war and by fascist Italy in the second, this fascinating country now enjoys a communist regime. One would like to know how well traditional and communist attitudes and institutions are blending.

University of Birmingham   CHARLES MADGE

Deprived Children by Hilda Lewis. Pp. xvii + 163.
London: Oxford University Press, (for Nuffield
Foundation), 1954. 9s. 6d.

Three Men by Jean Evans. Pp. xviii + 297. London:
Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1954. 15s.

Some Young People by Pearl Jephcott. Pp. 168. London.:
Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1954. 12s. 6d.

These three books should be of special interest to psychologists.
The authors all have a clinical or observational approach rather than
a strictly scientific one. *Deprived Children,* however, by Hilda Lewis,
which records a follow-up experiment at a children's reception centre,
has reached a very fair compromise between the clinical method and
adequate statistical analysis of the data obtained. In this it differs
considerably from the other two books. Jean Evans, the author of
Three Men, is not concerned with statistical analysis, and rightly so.
On the other hand, *Some Young People,* by Pearl Jephcott, which
contains some extremely shrewd observations on the leisure and
problems of adolescents in this country, would have been improved
by tables and an elementary statistical analysis of part of the data.
All three books, however, illustrate how much valuable information
can be obtained through patient observation by trained workers.

In 1947, an Experimental Reception Centre (the first of its kind)
was established at Mersham, in Kent, for children coming into the
charge of the Local Authority. The proposal to establish such a
Centre was first made by Miss Rendel, the Director of the Caldecott
Community, who was 'disturbed at the haphazard way in which
deprived children needing care were distributed to children's homes,
foster mothers or approved schools without any real study of their
individual needs and difficulties.' The Centre was sponsored by the
Caldecott Community and financed by the Nuffield Foundation.

Deprived Children, by Dr. Hilda Lewis, describes the work carried
out with the 500 children who passed through the Centre between
October 1947 and July 1950. In her book, Dr. Lewis deals first with
the Centre and its work; secondly, with the children themselves—
their backgrounds, their personalities and their behaviour; she goes
on to analyse the relations between these. She then gives the results
of a follow-up study of 240 of the children, carried out two or more
years after they had left the Centre. The book ends with case

summaries of 24 children.

The main conclusions to be drawn from the results fall into two broad groups. On the one hand we have the opinions and results which are concerned, in general, with the efficiency of the Centre and the justification for its establishment. These include the experience gained about the problems that arose and the suggestions and recommendations put forward to meet them, most of these eminently practicable and sensible. In addition, we have the view of the staff and of the Children's Officer for Kent, that the Centre had played an important part in the children's lives, facilitating a more sympathetic study and a greater understanding of them than would have been possible in a simple out-patient situation. From these opinions, and on logical grounds, it is reasonable to conclude that the Mersham Reception Centre was filling an undesirable gap which loomed for the child between his leaving home, or his previous institution, and his final placement. Dr. Lewis has tried to add evidence from objective data to show, first, that, after a period of two years or more, many of the children had in fact improved; and, secondly, that a larger proportion of children placed in accordance with the recommendations of the Centre fared better than those not so placed. Her evidence, however, is a little shaky. With regard to the assessments of improvement, these were all made by her alone, after personal interviews with the children, and no attempt was made to get any independent judgments. When we turn to the evidence that children placed in accordance with the Centre's recommendations fared better—figures for which are given in Tables 53 and 54 in her book—we find that she writes: ' . . . (Table 53) that children placed as recommended are a rather more satisfactory group two years later than those in respect of whom the recommendations had not been put into effect. Of the 75 children placed as recommended, 80 per cent. were in good or fair condition; but of the the 25 not so placed, only 60 per cent.;' and she claims similar results from Table 54. The chi-squared test, which Dr. Lewis does not apply, is not significant for improvement, and barely significant for the general condition of the children.

On the other hand, there are the results of more scientific interest, which concern in the main the maladjustment of a large number of the children, and the relation of this maladjustment to the various environmental factors assessed. A number of these results are of particular interest here. First, a significantly larger number of the malad-

justed children came from homes where the mothers lacked affection for them, or had some mental disability, or had been separated from the child before he was 5 years old, or from homes where the mother or father was over-indulgent; these results are to be expected. However, at the same time, a significantly *smaller* number of the maladjusted children were found to come from dirty homes than from clean, from homes where the mother or father was judged neglectful rather than inattentive, and from homes where the mother was 'dull' rather than 'bright.' Such conclusions might well be expected by psychologists, but may come as quite a shock to those unfamiliar with the relevant literature. Of still greater interest are the results bearing on early maternal deprivation. Separation from the mother was considered, first, in relation to whether the child's behaviour was 'disturbed' or not; and, secondly, in relation to the pattern of maladjustment observed. Only prolonged separation before the age of two was found to have a significant association with disturbed mental state at the time of admission, and between separation from the mother and a particular pattern of disturbed behaviour. Neither delinquency nor incapacity for significant relationships was significantly more frequent in the separated children. 19 of the children were stated to display 'affectionless' characters of the type popularized by Dr. Bowlby. '10 of these had never been separated from their mothers for more than a few weeks; 5 had suffered prolonged separation, but in only one child had this begun before he was two years old.' This is in direct conflict with the claims of Bowlby and others.

Deprived Children is an excellent book. The facts that it contains are clearly set out and summarized. All necessary figures are given in full, and an adequate statistical test is applied in most cases. The weakest part of the experiment is, perhaps, the attempt to demonstrate experimentally the success of the Centre. This could probably only be done by a follow-up study analysing the subsequent histories of children who had passed through such a Reception Centre, and showing those to be more satisfactory than the subsequent fates of those who had not, but such an experiment would be a Herculean task and was outside the scope of this enquiry. *Deprived Children* should be read by all who work in the field of child psychology.

In *Three Men*, the life histories of three Americans are recorded, all of whom have been in constant trouble with their immediate social environment and with the police. The book has an introduction by

Professor Allport of Harvard University, at whose suggestion the book was written. He himself has used one of Miss Evans' studies, 'Johnny Rocco,' as teaching material for elementary students. In his words, Miss Evans has 'introduced us with unique skill to three unforgettable characters.' The author herself has attempted with each case—Johnny Rocco, aged 20; William Miller, aged 40; and Martin Beardson, aged 25—to present as comprehensive a picture of their life as she could, using information based on her own interviews with the men, and on all other available information from doctors, sociologists, psychologists, social workers' records, medical records, interviews with relations and friends, and letters and communications provided by the subjects themselves. This information has been presented, not in the standard form of a case history, but rather as a novelist would present it; yet, whereas a novelist would, perhaps, while identifying himself with the emotions and experiences of his characters, draw largely on his own experience, Miss Evans, while identifying herself with the characters to the extent that they are presented as human beings rather than as cases, nevertheless has done her utmost to retain objectivity in her observations and to use her art of writing, not to interpret, but simply to set down without comment, the salient facts. All three men resemble each other, first, in the extent to which they exhibit a restlessness, which makes them unable to stick to any job for very long; secondly, in that they express freely, though in a confused and muddled fashion, their desire for love and security; thirdly, and tragically enough, because all have a strong sense of guilt and desire to do better. Two of them, William Miller and Martin Beardson, are impelled by their own conflicts to lead from time to time a kind of vagabond's life, virtually touring the country as tramps, picking up food and work where they can. All three have been in public institutions, and, at the point where Miss Evans' official story ends, in 1950, only one—Johnny Rocco—has made anything like adequate adjustment to ordinary life. Miss Evans, however, adds a short postscript written in 1953, which indicates that, of the other two, Miller, who was rapidly going blind for the second time after a miraculous recovery of sight, had joined a large evangelical organisation, been baptised and was doing active work 'among other handicapped members of the flock.' He was also contemplating another marriage. This may or may not have indicated a more lasting adjustment than he had managed before. Let us hope that, in 10 years' time or so, Miss Evans will write a sequel to her

book and let us know. The third man, Beardson, whose whole life was planned to resist his homosexual tendencies, was still trying to achieve the complete continence that he thought would transform him. He was also still clinging to the works of Bernard Shaw, whose writings and ideals (he thought) formed, in the main, his life's model.

Miss Evans' book makes two main contributions. First, it provides raw material, carefully and systematically gathered, about these delinquent adults, free from jargon and psychiatric interpretation; a rare achievement at the present time. Secondly, it has shown how effective are such records, and provides a start, and should provide a stimulus, for further work of the same kind. A large number of case histories of this type, collected over the years, would well repay qualitative and quantitative analysis; they would draw a much truer picture of the actual data to hand in the field of delinquency and clinical psychology than is usually accessible.

In *Some Young People*, Miss Pearl Jephcott has recounted the results obtained in a large-scale survey with boys and girls aged 14 to 17. The survey was carried out in two boroughs in central London, in a prosperous working-class district in Nottingham and in four Oxfordshire villages. The main aim of the investigation, which was sponsored by King George's Jubilee Trust, was to determine 'why more of the 939 boys and girls interviewed from the areas selected did not belong to any youth organisation.' The information was collected by interviews, which were carried out by a group of men and women with considerable experience of work with adolescents. Only 35 per cent. of the adolescents (46 per cent. of the boys and 22 per cent. of the girls) belonged to a youth organisation at the time of the enquiry. The information collected varied in the different places studied, but in general the following interesting results emerged. First, that the boys and girls made very poor use of their leisure when left to themselves; the cinema, hanging around street corners, and so forth, accounting for a very large proportion of their free time. There seems little doubt that they would have benefited from membership of some club which really met their needs. In the towns it was found that the girls did not like to tie themselves down to a fixed evening a week in case a boy friend wanted to take them out at the last minute; indeed, courting seems to provide a serious obstacle to increasing the membership of youth organisations. Others, boys and girls, were too shy, or did not want to be 'bossed about,' or perhaps did not even know of the existence of the appro-

priate organisation.

Miss Jephcott concludes that, although on the whole the existing youth service has done a magnificent job, there are a number of improvements which, if made, might attract more adolescents to youth organisations. First, the appointment of an officer whose job it would be to inform the boy (or girl), while he is still at school, of available youth clubs, and to advise him which to join. Secondly, tactfully enrolled assistance from parents, who, if they became interested in the clubs, would encourage their offspring to join. Many of the interviewers were strongly of the opinion that one of the most important things was that the leaders or older members of the clubs should have a friendly and sympathetic relationship with the adolescent members. Thirdly, improved and up-to-date equipment is widely needed and a greater effort to meet adolescent needs.

These are but a few of the conclusions contained in a book full of suggestive information. There are three minor criticisms which should be mentioned. First, there seems considerable repetition in *Some Young People,* and no adequate attempts to summarize the facts. Secondly, the few tables in the Appendix are very inadequate. Thirdly, there is no index. However, there is no doubt that the information contained in the book is extremely valuable.

University College,   CHARLOTTE BANKS.
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The Absorption of Immigrants by S. N. Eisenstadt. Pp. xii + 275. Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., London, 1954. 25s.

Social History of the Jews in England, 1850-1950 by V. D. Lipman. Pp. x + 200. Watts & Co., London, 1954. 18s.

These two important books examine some of the consequences of modern barbarism. Dr. Eisenstadt's elaborate and substantial study investigates the absorption of immigrants in Palestine and Israel and draws general sociological conclusions about the character of migration as a social process. The main theme of Mr. Lipman's short history of Anglo-Jewry is the impact and absorption of the mass immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe into Britain between 1880 and 1905.

In his first chapter, Dr. Eisenstadt outlines a sociological, as distinct from an economic or demographic approach to the absorption of immigrants in modern societies and emphasises the significant relation between the immigrants' aspirations and the capacity of the receiving society to satisfy them. This general analysis is applied in the main section of the book to the sharply contrasted problems of absorption of Jewish immigrants into the *Yishuv* (the Jewish Community of Palestine) and the mass migration of nearly 700,000 souls to the new state of Israel between 1948 and 1952. During these periods the character both of the immigrants and of their new homeland changed. Before the persecutions which culminated in Hitler's war, most immigrants into Palestine were young, had rebelled against the social and cultural traditions of the countries of their origin, and were dedicated to the building of a new Jewish society. The mass migration to Israel was made up of families, social groups and, occasionally, whole communities less willing to accept social and cultural change and clinging to the old patterns of their broken lives. The establishment in 1948 of the new state with its national army, centralised administrative apparatus and economic powers radically altered the bases of social solidarity. The strongly cohesive primary groups of the *Yishuv* disintegrated and its collective orientation weakened as competition between old inhabitants for the new positions of power intensified. From this situation a new pluralistic structure is emerging.

Not all Dr. Eisenstadt's readers will be familiar with the background of the development of Israel. They would have been helped to an easier understanding of the theme by a short descriptive introduction which, regrettably, Dr. Eisenstadt omits. Within the limits of space, the chapter which makes a comparative analysis of some modern migrations might usefully have been sacrificed to this end. Readers might thereby be reminded that the sociological language which equips immigrants with 'rôle expectations' and 'status anxiety' studiously conceals the hopes and sufferings of tortured human beings. Sociologists in this country will envy Dr. Eisenstadt his opportunity to study a new society in the making as they will admire the skill with which he has disciplined and interpreted his material.

Mr. Lipman's book, which, despite its title, effectively covers only the period 1850-1914, grew out of a series of lectures on 'The Sociology of Anglo-Jewry' given for the University of London Extension Department. The 35,000 British Jews at the beginning of his

period were members of a community in which most families were settled before the nineteenth century. Some 15,000 lived outside London, in small groups in the naval ports, and in the county towns of the midlands and south, and in larger clusters in Hull, Liverpool, Birmingham and Manchester. Mr. Lipman's description of the demographic, occupational, social and religious development of the community establishes the background against which he traces the influx of 100,000 immigrants through Grimsby, Hull and London between 1880 and the passing of the Aliens Act in 1905, and shows the processes by which they were assimilated. By 1914, Mr. Lipman concludes, cultural assimilation was far advanced and had not undermined the community's religious unity ('Anglicization' without 'de-Judaization,' in Mr. Lipman's horrible phrase).

Mr. Lipman modestly describes his book as 'a starting point for future research and for the writing of a definitive history of British Jewry.' It is more than that. It fills a serious gap in our knowledge, and is an able and welcome addition to the historical literature of its period. Is it too much to hope that Mr. Lipman's example will stimulate the writing of a comparable study of Irish immigration into Britain?

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An Introduction to the Study of Industrial Relations by J. Henry Richardson. Pp. 442. Allen & Unwin, London, 1954. 30s.

The System of Industrial Relations in Great Britain by Alan Flanders and H. A. Clegg. Pp. viii + 380. Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1954. 30s.

There has been much comment recently about the casual way in which the subject of 'industrial relations' is studied in this country—with a lot of justification, many of us feel, in spite of the fact that the amount of time devoted to the subject in technical colleges and universities is steadily increasing. A steady stream of publications is necessary to encourage this growing interest, and it is therefore quite an event to be able to refer to the recent publication of *An Introduction to the Study of Industrial Relations* by Professor J.

Henry Richardson of Leeds, and *The System of Industrial Relations in Great Britain* edited by Alan Flanders and H. A. Clegg of Oxford.

Both these books will be useful. They are what they claim to be. Richardson's work really is an 'introduction to the study,' while Flanders and Clegg approach and discuss the 'system' from various angles, and most attractively. Yet both these volumes are going to cause frustration, for periodically the authors give the impression of 'peeping in' at industry, rather than being at home with the attitudes, the actions and reactions which are the basis of industrial relations. I repeat, both books are valuable; but the fact that on occasion the authors seem a little remote from industry encourages the doubt whether the normal contacts between industry and university lecturers and research workers are as intimate as they should be for the good health of both.

Take Richardson first: it is an admirable if not wildly exciting book, logically constructed: Part I: Relations at the Workplace; Part II: Collective Relations; Part III: Wages and Hours of Work; Part IV: State Intervention; Part V: International Aspects. All this offers a good background and factual information about the institutions and formalities necessary to the study of industrial relations, for which a lot of students should be grateful. It may save the trouble of taking lecture notes.

But it will cause trouble if it encourages the belief that these formalities and procedures are the essence of industrial relations, rather than the shell. Consider Merit Rating as a case in point. This technique of grading individual operatives is briefly described, the criteria are mentioned and the statement made that 'Merit Rating with appropriate adjustments of pay can usefully be made in many kinds of work . . .' Many of us would enjoy debating such a statement, though it must be admitted that Merit Rating is in operation in a variety of jobs and employers are being encouraged by some organisations to consider its further introduction. But what surely cannot be omitted in any reference to the industrial relations content of Merit Rating is that whatever possible advantages it may have in certain circumstances, it is—by reason of being a financial assessment of a subjective analysis of an individual operative, with plenty of scope for the blue-eyed boy technique'—generally regarded as being against the trade union principles of 'the rate for the job' and the use of the union as the vehicle for wage increases. The introduction of Merit Rating, then, may prejudice existing good industrial relationships

and ultimately productivity even if it is accepted by the unions concerned.

Flanders' and Clegg's *The System of Industrial Relations in Great Britain* contains six essays: Asa Briggs on the Social Background; O. Kahn-Freund, the Legal Framework; J. D. M. Bell, the Trade Unions; H. A. Clegg, the Employers; A. Flanders, Collective Bargaining; and Clegg and T. E. Chester, Joint Consultation. All are interesting, with the contribution of Kahn-Freund particularly competent, and that of Clegg valuable because there is so little written about employers' organisations.

But again it is fair to comment on the gap which appears to exist between academic workers and industry, even after making due allowance for the considerable period since the contributions were written (dated 1953, printed 1954).

This leads to a lack of appreciation of what is one of the most interesting developments in industrial relations in the last few years: the increasing concern of unions with industrial efficiency. To take an example from the footwear industry, the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives (a) has three of its officers on the Governing Body of the Research Association, subscribes annually £250 to its funds, and participates in R.A. deliberations; (b) has supplemented the industrial experience of half-a-dozen of its officers by training them in production engineering with industrial consultants for periods of up to four months; and (c) has sent many of its officers to TUC and other courses on production and management subjects. These are important facts affecting not only the system but also the industrial relations climate of the industry, though they do not mean that the trade union attitude to all production techniques, e.g. Work Study, is no longer controversial.

Sixteen Research Associations now have trade union officers on their Governing Bodies. In half-a-dozen industries the Unions have subscribed to their R.As. There is a steady development in this mutually beneficial association on detailed matters of industrial efficiency.

Such payments of trade union money have much more significance in industrial relations than talk round a table. But by itself it is just one sign of that positive phase in British trade union activities which can develop enormously almost as soon as its potentialities are recognised. Though there is a slight reference to this range of trade union activities the signs are that the authors are not fully informed on

what is happening.

The apparent lack of contact between university workers and industry may, of course, be exaggerated: it is easy to exaggerate a phenomenon we are already afraid of. But it is an important matter and deserves regular attention by academic workers and by both sides of industry. The pity is that the industry side of this equation does not show more initiative.

Transport House,   E. FLETCHER
London.

Freedom and Welfare: *Social Patterns in the Northern Countries of Europe,* sponsored by the Ministries of Social Affairs of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden. Edited by George R. Nelson. Pp. xiii + 539. Ejnar Munksgaard, Copenhagen, 1953. 36s.

This is a collective work, written by five authors (one from each of the five northern countries) and edited by the Danish co-author. Although sponsored by the respective ministries and written by civil servants, it has an agreeable frankness and freshness about it, a lack of smugness and of the official tone of voice, a willingness to admit of imperfections and to listen to criticism, which is itself evidence of the high degree of civilisation achieved by the five northern countries.

The object of this book is to give an account of the experience of the northern countries in dealing with social problems. More particularly it describes their aims, organisation, and achievements in the fields of public social policy: labour relations, co-operation, family welfare, housing, public health, and social security. Within these limits it is an excellent work, comprehensive, factual, detailed (yet not allowing the trees to come between the spectator and the wood), sober and judicious. Yet, with all its merits, it is slightly disappointing, inasmuch as it fails to fulfil the promise of its title. Except for brief (and rather superficial) reviews of general social conditions, contained in the first and last chapters, the book does not really get down to the task of describing just what makes the welfare state work, and how its participants resolve the apparent

conflict between economic dependence on the community and the self-directed activities of the citizen of a democratic society.

There would be no point, for this review, in going through the book and describing its contents in detail. The student of social administration who wants the details must get hold of the book itself: it is well worth it. Here I will simply refer to one or two points of special interest to the British reader.

The contents of the book are arranged by subjects, not by countries. Each aspect of social policy is described for all five countries, with the common features stressed, but with the chief differences noted also. What is remarkable is that the resemblances are so close. That these five states, which form no political or economic union of any sort, with different languages (three are closely akin; one, Icelandic, is akin to these, but more archaic; one, Finnish, is totally unlike the others), with different histories, should during the present century, have converged so closely on points of social policy—much more closely than the different states of the British Commonwealth, in some ways as closely as the states of the American Union—is a very interesting phenomenon.

The five countries have entered into numerous reciprocal agreements extending the benefits of social legislation to one another's citizens. Thus each of the five countries pays old-age pensions to the citizens of the other countries on the same terms as to its own. All five countries have established full reciprocity as regards benefits for mothers and infants. Also membership of health insurance societies is transferable as between all the countries except Finland (which has as yet no comprehensive scheme of health insurance). Denmark, Norway and Sweden have a similar agreement regarding unemployment insurance.

The same three countries require no passports for travel between one and another. Denmark and Sweden have abolished labour permits for citizens from the other country. Other measures tend to create a single unified labour market in the northern countries. Schemes are in the air for a Northern customs union, for a common Northern citizenship and other forms of political integration; but they have not yet reached the stage of serious politics.

All are parliamentary democracies (that three are constitutional monarchies and two republics makes no difference whatever—the monarchies have shed all traces of a feudal past), but only recently so: cabinet responsibility to parliament developed really only in the

present century.

Nowadays they have achieved a high level of effective political democracy. Their parliamentary system differs from ours in being based on the existence of four or five parties: as a result coalition governments are the rule rather than the exception. They all have Proportional Representation in one form or another: which is cause and which is effect we must leave to other authorities. It is interesting to note that there has been no excessive splintering of parties: in each country the four or five main parties appear to be stable and well organised and to rest upon a coherent body of popular support. Local government is well-developed, with an active participation of the citizen through numerous committees. Officials and popular representatives appear to collaborate at least as well as in the United Kingdom. The practice of forming voluntary associations for a great variety of different purposes appears to be firmly established. The independent-minded public-spirited citizen does not seem to be in danger of submergence by caucuses and pressure groups (although there is one passage in the book that suggests that some northern citizens feel a little alarm at the growth of bureaucracy and the emergence of powerful organised interests).

All are fundamentally peasant countries, in which, except in Denmark, the peasantry has never sunk into serfdom, and in all of which the peasantry has since the beginning of the nineteenth century enjoyed considerable economic independence. Industrial development started late; from about the middle of the nineteenth century (except for some mining and metallurgy in certain regions of Sweden, going back to the sixteenth century). It has, however, gone ahead rapidly; so that nowadays between 41% (Sweden) and 21% (Iceland) of the working populatoin is engaged in mining, industry or handicrafts.

The average real income per head is high: the five countries being found among the sixteen countries with the highest *per caput* income in the world. The five nations vary as between one another: Sweden—the highest—is just above the U.K. in the list, and Denmark just above Australia; while Norway comes just above Belgium, and Iceland and Finland—the lowest—bracket Ireland neatly between them.

As a result, perhaps, of the prevalence of a free peasantry during the period of development of industry, or, perhaps, of the relatively gradual development of industry, there are no great inequalities of

fortune in these countries. This was the case even before the development of modern social policy. The effect of the latter has been to accentuate the tendency towards a relative quality.

There is a general tendency towards a high degree of state intervention in economic matters. Public utilities—railways, electric power, water, etc. are generally in public ownership; but there is no great development of state ownership of industry. State intervention takes the form of fiscal policy and of direct controls—controls over currency, foreign exchange, imports, and the location of industry.

The general pattern of social institutions in the five northern countries appears to be remarkably like that which is evolving in Great Britain. Here, however, we will mention a few points of contrast.

The relatively greater development of the co-operative movement is rather striking. The consumers' co-operative movement appears to have greater vitality, to show greater enterprise, and to be technically and aesthetically more progressive than in Britain. It plays a vigorous part through its own productive undertakings in combating monopolistic tendencies in private industry. Side by side with the consumers' co-operative movement (and, in some countries, to some extent in conflict with it) is a strong farmers' co-operative movement, the farmers' co-operatives acting both as buying and as selling agents. There are also co-operative credit organisations, mostly run on Raiffeisen lines, supplying credit both to farmers' co-operatives and to building societies and other types of co-operative organisation. This is in sharp contrast to the very small part played by agricultural co-operation and the total absence of co-operative credit institutions in this country.

Housing affords another contrast. In the five northern countries local authorities take a relatively minor part in housing policy, and the part they do take is somewhat different from that taken by local authorities in Britain. Housing (other than that provided by purely private enterprise) is provided in three ways: by housing co-operatives ; by non-profit-making joint-stock companies, often linked to trade-unions or to consumers' co-operatives; and community housing associations, in which the local authorities take a part both in finance and in government. These last are rather new in development, and represent the only way in which the local authorities enter the housing business: this is in contrast with the major role played

by local authorities in Britain. Housing subsidies exist, mostly state rather than local. They are based upon family income and family needs; and, in Sweden at any rate, they appear to be paid to a family rather than to a house.

Medical services present another contrast. In none of the countries under review is there a National Health Service on British lines. Although most sections of the population seem to be provided with medical care in one way or another, there is no single comprehensive scheme for gratuitous medical treatment. There are, broadly, three modes of provision. First there is the preventive medicine service, which is the central pivot round which revolves the provision of public medical services, as compared with the relatively minor role to which it has been relegated in Britain since the establishment of the N.H.S. In the rural parts of Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden the medical officer of the preventive health service acts also as a practising doctor. Only in Denmark is personal medical care left almost entirely to the private practitioner. Except in Finland, the medical officers of health are state, not local officials; but in all countries there is a network of local health committees with considerable powers. Secondly there is a hospital service, run by the local authorities, heavily subsidised and charging very low fees, available everywhere and for everybody. Thirdly there are the private doctors, who in Denmark and the urban parts of the other countries provide personal medical care. But for the bulk of the population the cost of this (as also of hospital treatment) is covered by the system of health insurance. This again, in contrast with Britain, is not a uniform state scheme, but is run by numerous (state-subsidised) provident societies, self-administering, and voluntary in membership, although there is a tendency towards making health insurance compulsory. They are not restricted to employed persons, as under the old N.H.I. in Britain, but they admit to membership all comers including professional persons, farmers, shopkeepers, etc. It is worth noting that actuarial considerations have ceased to be decisive in the determination of social insurance benefits in the Northern countries. The general principle adopted is that help should be effective.

The organisation of industrial workers does not appear to differ very much from the British pattern. It is more recent, dating back only to the 1880's or 1890's, and is simpler and more rationalised in structure. Central trade-union organisations exist; but not all unions belong to them. The general set-up appears to be flexible and

to allow for variations in particular cases, without producing the excessive complexity and the prevalence of individual anomalies that one observes in Great Britain. Trade union membership is nominally voluntary, although the authors of this book say 'in practice any refractory worker encounters quite considerable pressure.' Problems of industrial relations seem to be very similar, and to be handled very similarly, in the five northern countries and in Britain. Many of the problems that are encountered in Britain arise also in these countries. There is the tendency for the salaried employees (who are organised, but not so thoroughly as the industrial workers) to consider themselves treated as of little account and to feel as if they are being squeezed between the upper millstone of the employers and the nether millstone of the manual workers, whose wage-claims tend to push up the cost of living against them. There is also the tendency of full employment to produce a rigidity of industrial structure and an immobility, both occupational and geographical, of labour. But either this tendency is less strong than in this country or the authors of the book are too diplomatic to do more than mention it in passing. Official arbitration tribunals exist, and have great influence; their procedure appears to be more expeditious than is the case in this country. A fundamental distinction is made between those issues which are already regulated by agreements and those where no agreements bind the parties. In the first case, the parties are legally bound by the agreement for the period of its validity: they may not have recourse to strike or lock-out, but may only litigate. In the second case they are free, if they wish, to use the traditional methods of labour disputes: the state offers voluntary arbitration. No centralised machinery exists for working out a national wage policy. Economists are much concerned with the possible danger that, in a state of full employment, the trade unions might use their bargaining power to drive up wages and costs above the equilibrium point, and so endanger monetary stability and the balance of external payments. This danger exists there as it does here; but so far it has failed to develop fully, there as here, simply because of the good sense, conciliatory attitude, and voluntary self-restraint of the trade unions.

High in order of social importance stands the promotion of the welfare of the family. Much of northern social policy is directed towards the care of children and of their mothers. Family allowances are paid in all five countries. Sweden has taken the logical step of

abolishing income-tax rebates for children and raising family allowances by a compensating amount. Free midwifery services, home helps and nursery schools help to make the lot of the working mother a little less laborious than it would otherwise be. It is interesting to note that in all these countries, although public opinion has become alarmed at the prospect of depopulation through a falling birth-rate, it seems to be agreed that parenthood must be voluntary. Birth control is accepted in all countries; and social policy is directed towards creating conditions in which people will willingly choose to have children, rather than having them as a result of a blind and irresistible sexual urge.

The treatment of education in this book is somewhat unsatisfactory. Only a brief reference to it is made (three pages) under the heading of 'Family Welfare.' It appears that primary education together with books, etc. is free in the northern countries, but that, except in Iceland, a small fee (graduated according to parents' means) is levied for secondary education (books, etc. have to be paid for by parents). Universities are free, or nearly so, and there is a limited number of scholarships and a few free hostels for students; but most students have to meet their own costs of maintenance, and for students from poor families this is a serious burden and a barrier to the enjoyment of higher education. The five countries are just beginning to consider means of removing these barriers to equal opportunity. In fact, the position appears to be rather what it was in this country before the Education Act of 1944.

At the end of the book the reader is left asking himself many questions. In many ways these five northern countries seem to be achieving the objects that earnest social reformers in this country have been striving after for two generations. What sort of a community is developing under these conditions? Now, when the hopes of the reformers are being progressively realised, but long before their complete fulfilment is in sight, the prophets of woe are raising their voices. Besides the old complaints—pauperisation, indiscipline, weakening of moral fibre—made by those who are temperamentally hostile to the welfare state, new possibilities of disaster are being loudly canvassed—the growth of bureaucracy, the passing of the reign of law, the loss of political freedom, the loss of all sense of individual responsibility, the weakening of the will to work, the growth of passive enjoyments (professional football, the cinema, television). What substance is there in these plaints? One would expect that the

five northern countries could be regarded as a sociological laboratory in which to observe the consequences of the welfare state. So far as the evidence goes that is contained in the volume under review, it would appear that a social life of high quality and a keen sense of civic responsibility flourishes under a welfare state of an advanced kind. But this book does not go very deep. It leaves not only unanswered but unasked the more serious questions. Some observers have found evidence of a certain widespread spiritual malaise in, for instance, Sweden. What are the facts? Does this malaise exist to a significant extent? If it does, is it related to the social policy? It is no use blaming a book for not being something that its authors never set out to make it. But the very excellence of the way in which they have done what they set out to do makes the reader wish for another book, in which the deeper issues should be discussed.

The book is beautifully produced, on good paper, printed (in Denmark) with good type and with wide margins. It is illustrated by over a hundred photographs, some of considerable beauty or interest (or both). It is a pity that there is no map: the reader has to go to an atlas to find the exact situation of Scania, Lund, Haparanda, Stavnsholt, Tampere, or Gävle. On the other hand, there is a good index.

University of Bristol.   H. D. DICKINSON

The Design of Social Research by Russell L. Ackoff. Pp. xi + 420. University of Chicago Press (Cambridge University Press), 1953. 56s. 6d.

On Theory and Verification in Sociology by Hans L. Zetterberg. Pp. 78. Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm, 1954. $2.50.

Many social scientists have on occasions envied their colleagues in the natural sciences their experimental techniques and superior methodology. This envy has led students of the social sciences to examine their own techniques and procedures and to try to adopt 'scientific' methods to the social field. Both these books under review, in their own way, plead for the application of the methods used by natural scientists in social investigation. Dr. Ackoff is concerned with practical problems of research whereas Dr. Zetterberg deals with the

more theoretical aspects of methodology.

Dr. Ackoff's book is a text containing a bibliography and exercises at the end of each chapter. It is divided into three main parts, dealing respectively with the formulation of the research problem, the idealized research and the practical research design. The third part is further sub-divided into three sections, the lengthiest of which deals with the statistical phase of the research, and the remaining two discuss the observational and the operational phases of research respectively.

It must be admitted at once that a great deal of the book is excellent and contains much that will be of interest to the student. The chapters on sampling, on the logic of statistical procedures and on testing hypotheses are especially worthy of mention. The detailed directions for carrying out significance tests, however, savour a little of the cookery book and would in my view have been better omitted from a work of this kind. They are described in a large number of textbooks on statistical methods, where their limitations and the necessary qualifications can be stressed. There is some danger that the uncritical student, after reading the instructions in Dr. Ackoff's book, may apply the tests incorrectly without being fully aware of their limitations. The section on the operational phase of social research is also well written and remarkably free of the platitudes with which so many works on this subject abound.

The sections concerned with the formulation of research problems and with problems of definition are rather less successful. It is rather difficult to write about these topics in a textbook style which is necessarily somewhat dogmatic and though Dr. Ackoff occasionally warns his readers that some of the methods he suggests are by no means universally accepted, he leaves the impressoin that these problems are fairly easily amenable to quantitative treatment. The terms used are often difficult to define and even more difficult to evaluate. For instance, his measure of the efficiency of a particular research procedure, of the relative importance of different research objectives, or of the seriousness of error are all highly abstract and would be extremely difficult to evaluate in practice. Thus, he says that 'given two objectives o_1 and o_2, o_1 is more important than o_2, if, granted that only one of these objectives could be pursued, o_1 rather than o_2 would be pursued.' This is an unexceptional definition in theory, but hardly helpful in practice, where situations in which the realization of one objective can only be achieved at the expense of

another are rare. It is doubtful to what extent the verbal reactions of people, confronted with hypothetical situations are of much value, but when Dr. Ackoff proceeds to give a method by which, starting with some arbitrarily selected trial values, the relative importance of different research objectives may be computed, the whole procedure seems unnecessarily elaborate and it is doubtful whether it improves the arbitrary values with which it started. Nevertheless, Dr. Ackoff is always stimulating and interesting, even when one is in disagreement with him.

Dr. Zetterberg in his brief monograph discusses the nature of sociological theories and of their empirical verification He pleads for a formulation of these theories in axiomatic form, so that their logical consequences may be subjected to empirical testing. In the brief space of 78 pages it is difficult to discuss these major issues adequately, but a number of interesting points are raised. Dr. Zetterberg dismisses rather summarily what seems to be the most important problem, that of framing the operational definition which is used in verification in such a way that it coincides with the concepts used in the theory. It is to be hoped that he will be able to give his views in more detail later.

A protest ought to be entered at the incredibly high price of this little book. To charge $2.50 for what is little more than a bound pamphlet in which there appears to be no particular difficult typesetting seems to ensure that the circulation will be extremely restricted.

University of Leeds.   E. GREBENIK

Techniques of Counseling by Jane Warters. Pp. viii + 384. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1954. 38s.

Personnel Problems of School Administrators by Clarence A. Weber. Pp. xi + 378. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1954. 40s.

These books deal with two aspects of educational administration which require much more attention in this country than they have had hitherto. The first is concerned with all the special measures which may be taken within a school to reduce educational wastage.

We are certainly becoming more aware of the problem of wastage: examples of this awareness are the recent *Report on Early Leaving* from the grammar schools, the concern over provision of incentives in secondary modern schools and the discussion of selection procedures and their effects on primary education. But we are yet a long way from the general recognition of the need in each school for a counselling service, with a professionally trained full-time worker in charge, and adequate assistance from selected members of the teaching staff. To these two basic requirements, Dr. Warters adds a third, that sufficient time be allocated within the school programme for the efficient operation of the service. She refers to Moreno's work on the limits of emotional interest for any one individual and says, 'There is little chance of proper provision being made for student personnel work in secondary schools or colleges until guidance is put on the same time basis as instruction.' This we may take as warning in advance from American experience against counselling 'on the cheap,' adding yet another burden to teachers already overloaded.

Dr. Warters' book is a comprehensive and practical survey of counselling techniques. It covers all the relevant aspects of testing, observation procedures, and the use of self reports, assessment of group behaviour, compilation of case studies, and interview techniques. The methods described are fully illustrated; with careful critical evaluation and full awareness of their limitations and defects.

Professor Weber's book deals with the personnel problems which are, or should be, the concern of the school administrator in the U.S.A. They include the selection and orientation of new teachers, in-service education, questions of teaching load and tenure, transfer and promotion, professional ethics, salaries, teachers' organisations. In Great Britain, the responsibility of this range of problems is more widely spread, involving the Ministry and H.M.Is., Education Officers and their organisers and advisers, Institutes of Education and teachers' professional organisations. It is certainly useful to have all these aspects of teacher welfare brought together and comprehensively surveyed, though the content and style of the book make it more suitable for the American than for the British reader.

University College,   J. W. TIBBLE
Leicester.

The Middle Class Vote by John Bonham. Pp. 210. Faber & Faber Ltd., London, 1954. 21s.

Politics in a Changing Society by J. A. Barnes. Pp. x + 220. Oxford University Press, (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege) London, 1954. 42s.

A first glance at these two titles encouraged the view that they could be discussed jointly. The discovery that Mr. Barnes' book concerns the Ngoni of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland brought certain doubts. Finally, the reading of the books restored something of the first optimism. Here are two essays in political sociology: anthropology among the natives of Surbiton, and the political structure of the Fort Jameson African communities.

Dr. Bonham's book is based on his doctoral thesis but the style of the Ph.D. has been suitably altered. It is a sprightly book made up of lively sentences, short paragraphs, and snappy quotations; even the few footnotes are placed not at the foot but in the text. It is a very readable book, but no less careful and valuable for that. It is based on the author's access to the raw material of B.I.P.O. surveys. The heart of the book is 'Table 10: Estimated percentages of all Electors classified in "Middle Class" sections who voted for Main Parties in General Elections 1945, 1950, and 1951.' The rest of the book leads up to and follows from this Table.

Dr. Bonham puts the problem in a chapter entitled 'Here comes the Floating Voter,' where he indicates fairly adequately that, although the idea of the middle-class as a pressure group is not very recent, the theme of the floating middle-class is. The advent of a Labour Government in 1945 coupled with the widespread association of that Party with the working class is held responsible for an increased self-consciousness in the rest of the community—'a natural reaction of a minority.' In the end, Dr. Bonham finds that there is not very much in the theory of the floating middle: 'The study of electoral contests suggests that the ups and downs of the great parties occur at every level of society.'

Two facts help to explain this: first, that the middle class is a very mixed lot; second, that neither party rests solely on one class for its support. The latter point is, of course, of tremendous importance in our political and social life. At first glance it appears odd that the distinction between the manual wage class and the rest

should 'dominate the attitudes of most electors, of all classes, to their party choice,' while at the same time both parties are in fact 'federations of different interests.' On both sides parties seem to be thought of as class parties, yet nearly half the support of the Conservatives comes from the manual wage earners. Related to this is another apparent paradox: there is little connection between the topics which are prominent in electors' ideas of what the parties stand for and the topics which electors regard as urgent matters of government policy. Dr. Bonham puts the explanation well: 'in the minds of most electors party choice and national policy exist in separate compartments. Party choice arises from habit and circumstance, reflecting a deep seated attitude to class and material interest. The vital decisions of national policy fall on "the government," conceived as something that runs on whatever its party colour.'

Economic interests, notions of social class, party adherence—these factors do not precisely coincide but rather overlap; and in this overlap is an important contribution to our social cohesion. On this point at least, there is a link between our two books. For one of the interesting discoveries of Mr. Barnes about the Ngoni political structure is similar. Ngoni society was traditionally divided in two ways: the more important division was into lineage units ('segments') which were geographically distinct 'villages;' at the same time, regiments of warriors (most important in a system described as 'migratory militarism') were recruited from all segments and based on 'age-sets.' The crossing of these divisions 'was a means whereby the centrifugal tendency inherent in their segmentary system was partly checked.'

Mr. Barnes' book is, however, not a mere description of Ngoni political structure at one point in time. It falls into three parts, in the first of which he outlines the traditional structure of this migratory militarism. It was a structure which fitted their way of life. The Ngoni State lived and moved by fighting. It grew by recruiting captives from defeated tribes as well as by reproduction. Struggles were not over land—for they moved on every five years or so—nor over cattle—which belonged to the chief anyway—but over the number of followers, including, especially, captives, which each segment lord could gather. When the State grew unwieldy, it simply split and each part moved in a different direction but still in the traditional manner. How long this could have lasted is uncertain, but the process was stopped by white penetration. The

142

second part of the book concerns this part of the scramble for Africa —and a pretty unedifying story it makes. The last part of Mr. Barnes' work deals with the change involved for the Ngoni in ceasing to be a tribal state and becoming a bit of a rural district in a colonial administration. Wholly new ways of political behaviour have had to be learnt and quite new kinds of men become important in Ngoni political life: court clerk, treasury clerk, councillor, foreman. Nevertheless, past groupings continue to be felt and influence the new society: former segment lords may be heads of native councils, and intra-village relations, having been left alone, tend to work themselves out on traditional lines.

The tale Mr. Barnes tells is of great fascination and he tells it with sympathetic understanding and skilful penetration. For example, his concluding sentences: 'the great warrior chief has become in effect the only member of the Administration who never goes home to Britain on leave. But in the eyes of his people, the Paramount Chief still belongs to the Ngoni, and not to the Administration.' He has made excellent use of varied sources—public records (for the period of the concession-hunters in particular), travellers' accounts and anthropological studies—and has put in twenty months' fieldwork as research officer of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. There is an admirable bibliography.

Both books throw light on changing patterns of political behaviour and will no doubt convey different insights to different readers according to their interests and temperaments. The present reviewer concluded among other things that there is a big saving in human suffering when change comes slowly and (at least in appearance) from within rather than suddenly as the result, for example, of defeat. Not that one really needed to go to Northern Rhodesia to find that out.

London School of Economics.   W. H. MORRIS JONES

Crime and the Services by John Spencer. Pp. xii + 306. Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1954. 28s.

This admirable and careful book about crime and the services is the first of its kind in this country. It is divided into three parts. The first deals with entry into the services and service offences. Its general conclusion is that although there are factors which might

precipitate delinquent behaviour in certain types of personality (e.g. separation from family, inertia and boredom arising from long periods of waiting and inactivity), it cannot be said that service life *per se* makes criminals; and that although there are factors which might inhibit delinquent behaviour in certain types of personality (e.g. influence of good unit morale), it cannot be said that service life *per se* rehabilitates criminals. The roots of crime go back to early child-hood, and this in turn, influences reactions to school and work; the mere fact of entering one of the services does not in itself evoke a new set of reactions. In order to prevent breakdown into crime there is a need for:

(a) effective selection, both for entry into and discharge from, the services; and this implies the need for greater knowledge about the type of potential or actual delinquent who is likely to break down. It may be, though Dr. Spencer does not stress this point, that prediction techniques will prove useful in this connection.

(b) the maintainance of good morale.

(c) the use of efficient methods of rehabilitation of those who break down in spite of entry screening and who are considered to be reclaimable. The need in Service Corrective Establishments is above all good and adequately trained staff, capable of the difficult task of training reformable servicemen.

Part II is concerned with the discharge from the services, and the ex-service offender. It outlines the problems which returned ex-servicemen have to face, and the difficulties of re-adjustment to civilian life. There is a particularly valuable study of 200 ex-service offenders at three civilian penal institutions: Sherwood Borstal (now a Corrective Training prison), the Regional Training Prison at Maid-stone, and the recidivist prison at Dartmoor. The case-histories are arranged according to character type and these brilliant pen-sketches, besides giving indications of what criminogenic influence service life did, or did not, have in each type, also throw light on the effects of institutional treatment.

This leads to Part III which is concerned with the institutional environment of the offender. Dr. Spencer's perceptive comments on the three institutions he has studied, and particularly on inmate-staff relations, his plea for in-service training and regular case-conferences, for group therapy, and for the segregation and special treatment of psychopaths, will be warmly welcomed by penologists everywhere.

Last but not least, there is an Appendix on methodolgy in which the functional approach to research and the technique of participant observation is discussed. Dr. Spencer felt it undesirable that the prisoners should see themselves as an object of research, and he therefor adopted a role which gave him a specific and comprehensible function. This allowed him to mingle with prisoners and staff without arousing suspicions of 'spying' but also without involving him emotionally too much. His sources of information were firstly, official records (and here he rightly criticises the paucity of prison records which do not give any social history); secondly, staff; and thirdly, the inmates themselves (some excellent observations on interviewing techniques here, and the use of personal documents such as letters and diaries).

This is not a book with any startling conclusions but it does produce facts where previously there were only surmises. It is a scholarly contribution to the comparatively slender literature of criminology.

London. HUGH KLARE

The Meaning of Work and Retirement by Eugene A. Friedmann and Robert J. Havighurst. Pp. vii + 197. University of Chicago Press (Cambridge University Press), Chicago, 1954. 28s.

One Man's Vision. The story of the Joseph Rowntree Village Trust. Pp. xiii + 149. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1954. 10s. 6d.

Why do men and women retire from their jobs? Are they compelled to do so by their employers? Or by social pressures? Do they eagerly look forward to being masters of their time or would they stay on at work if allowed? How do they adjust themselves to a new pattern of life?

These are the questions that have recently become the subject of lively discussion, to which the first of these books is a useful contribution from America. For the greater part of this century the problems set by old age were thought of as part of the wider one of the poverty of those unable, for one reason or another, to earn. Nowadays, however, the financial difficulties of the elderly are not

so serious; whatever one may think of the adequacy of retirement pensions the *method* of provision for old age is established and accepted. But the more serious problems have hardly yet begun to be tackled, or even recognised.

Work is not only the means of getting an income; it provides much deeper satisfactions—the companionship of workmates, the interest in the job or in the environment in which it is carried on; the self-identification with the firm, the industry, the union; social recognition of one's role in the community. It is the loss of these that leaves an unfilled blank in the lives of those no longer employed. During the long depression between the wars we began very faintly to recognise how much of the despair of the long-term unemployed was due to this cause; and we have been equally slow to understand its importance in the lives of the retired.

Recently the rapidly changing age composition of the community with its growing emphasis on the older age groups has led to much consideration of the inducements that might be offered to persuade people to stay on at work. The motive here has been primarily economic—a fear that the burden of a growing number of dependents on the productive age groups might lead to a lowering of standards of living. But this economic danger is not only slight in itself—it is also essentially a temporary phenomenon and will disappear when the size of the population stabilises itself. The much more important sociological problem of the role that we expect old people to fill in a modern community will still remain and demand a solution.

It is for this reason that *The Meaning of Work and Retirement* is a more valuable piece of work than the Report on the 'Reasons for Retiring or Continuing at Work' published by the Ministry of National Insurance and Pensions towards the end of last year. The group of Chicago sociologists responsible for the field work on which the book is based investigated a cross section of the population—unskilled labourers, skilled craftsmen, men and women in retail distribution, and physicians, with the aim of discovering just what work and retirement mean to people of widely different patterns of life. Incidentally the book offers a series of fascinating glimpses of people's lives and of what they themselves find most valuable and interesting in them; and the concluding chapter with its comparisons of the adjustments made by people of different temperaments, education and skills is an admirable pointer to the real issues of the

future.

One Man's Vision is a workmanlike, if rather dull account of the foundation of the Joseph Rowntree Village Trust on the occasion of its fiftieth birthday. It traces the development of Earswick, a suburb developed by the Trust a few miles from York and shows what can be done to make possible the growth of a rich and varied community life.

University of London.   GERTRUDE WILLIAMS

A Theory of Social Control by Richard T. LaPiere. Pp. xi + 568. McGraw-Hill Publishing Co. Ltd., New York, 1954. 53s. 6d.

This is a book which will interest all social scientists, whatever their departmental background. Professor LaPiere believes that an understanding of social behaviour requires the concept of *social control* in addition to the traditional concepts of *personality* and *situation*. A detailed analysis of this concept is necessary because the process of socialization which fixes the culture as part of the personality is insufficient to account for the individual's conformity to the norms of his society. Social control is conceived as the process by which 'the inevitable errors of socialization are rectified.'

The book is divided into three parts. Part I provides an historical and theoretical setting for the general problem of conformity, and suggests that previous accounts have been inadequate. The most significant factors for an understanding of conforming behaviour are to be found in the primary group and in the individual's striving to maintain and enhance his status within it. 'The striving for such status, becomes, in my theory, not the sole but certainly the most common of the motives that enter into the making of human conduct.'

An analysis of the primary group and the satisfactions that it provides, is followed by a discussion of some of the specific, psychological, economic and physical techniques of social control that are used by different social groups in different situations. This comprises Part II of the book and constitutes a lucid interpretation of a great deal of the theoretical and empirical work on small groups that has been going on during the last thirty years.

In Part III an attempt is made to account for social change in terms

of *counter control*. This concept is intended to cover all those efforts of individuals or groups to gain ascendancy over others. 'To become ascendant, an individual, group, or organisation must effect, by force or otherwise, changes in the established standards of some established group or organisation, i.e., must encounter the social control of that group or organisation.' This counter control can take the form of military, economic or cultural conquest or more frequently the techniques of autocratic or democratic control. The book concludes with a discussion of those critical social situations like panic and revolution, in which there is a complete breakdown in social control and status needs give way to survival needs.

The reader of this book will not find any essentially new facts, except perhaps that, 'the American colonies rebelled against King George IV' (p. 528) he will find however, that Professor LaPiere has withstood the social pressures to conform to the current norms of sociological writing, and has produced a clear and logically developed theory, free from all jargon.

University of London.   ALAN RICHARDSON

Democracy and the Labour Movement. Edited by John
   Saville. Pp. 275. Lawrence & Wishart Ltd., London,
   1954. 30s.

This is a collection of eight essays by British Marxists published in honour of Dona Torr, the Marxist historian. The content of the work varies greatly both in range of subject and quality of scholarship. In 'From Hierarchy to Evolution in the Theory of Biology,' Mr. Mason discusses the influence of changes in the methodology of biology on sociology. 'The Scottish Contribution to Marxist Sociology' by Mr. Meek is a very interesting study of the anticipation by Adam Smith's contemporaries, particularly John Millar, of the Marxian analysis of history in terms of the productive relationship. Mr. Kiernan's 'Wordsworth and the People' exemplifies the 'socialist realist' approach to the arts.

The other five essays deal much more closely with social and political movements especially in the nineteenth century. With the exception of Mr. Saville's savagely unfair attack on the Christian Socialists, they are relatively free from bias, Marxist analysis frequently being relegated to the position of an inconsequential

postscript. The omission of this feature from Mrs. Simon's article on the retention of the obsolete application of Master and Servant Law to industrial relations makes her contribution outstanding. Mr. Hill's long essay on the 'Norman Yoke'—a theory that the Norman Conquest was responsible for the destruction of liberties enjoyed under Anglo-Saxon Rule—is convincing until he reaches the nineteenth century. Mr. Hill denies that any new myth excited popular movements and asserts that it gave way to a scientific theory of socialism. Surely, however, the working-class movement has persisted in its addiction to mythology. For example, in our own time we have seen the devotion of a section of it to the mirage of a 'Workers' Fatherland.'

Mr. Collins emphasizes how limited was the politically active element of 'the working-class,' and describes the 'petty-bourgeois character' of the London Corresponding Society, an organisation of 'tradesmen, mechanics and shopkeepers.' Mr. Hobsbourn in his scholarly article, argues that the aristocracy of labour 'was sometimes included in the lower middle-class and could be identified with trade-unionism before the rise of the industrial unions.' The stratum of society dealt with in these two essays can hardly be synonymous with Mr. Kierman's emotional concept of 'the People,' or with 'the Democracy' to use another nineteenth century term for the working-classes referred to by Mr. Saville. In fact the relationship between either 'Democracy' or 'the Democracy' and 'the Labour movement' can only be discovered by much deeper research into the social and economic history of the last century and a half. This is not to detract from the undoubted merits of some of the essays in this collection which do provide a real addition to learning.

University College of North Staffordshire.   FRANK BEALEY

The Principles of World Citizenship by L. Jonathan Cohen. Pp. viii + 104. Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1954. 10s. 6d.

Mr. Cohen tells us in his Preface (p. iii) that his book 'is intended as an essay in philosophy,' and in his first chapter that his subject is 'the focal problem of social philosophy' (p. 1)—namely, the determination of the criteria of arguments about social policy and their implications. Almost at the end of his discussion, he says that

'in social philosophy our concern is with the criteria of social argument, not the proposal of legislation' (p. 103). And yet it is very hard to see what Mr. Cohen is doing throughout his last chapter on 'World Citizenship' if not recommending a policy which culminates in the establishment of a world government on federal lines—in effect, proposing 'legislation' in a broad sense of that term. His argument is that we are 'committed' to such a policy by the criteria of reasonable social argument. Now this claim—which is the essential claim made in Mr. Cohen's book—raises a host of questions which cannot be examined in a short notice. But it is perhaps worth while asking who 'we' are in this context. Mr. Cohen argues that 'liberals and communists . . . are capable of reasoned discussion with one another in international institutions' because they 'are prepared to argue by reference to rules of conduct . . . which they apply to all human beings' (p. 36). But the first part of this argument seems to be at variance with the facts of international experience since 1945—here and elsewhere Mr. Cohen ignores the implications of, for example, the Soviet refusal, until 1954, to join UNESCO and the fact that the Soviet bloc of powers still boycotts the World Health Organization. And the second part of the argument quoted above appears to be at variance with the ethics of Marxian Communism.

To say that there is a certain unreality about Mr. Cohen's whole discussion of the international 'community' is perhaps to reveal oneself as a victim of what he calls 'the Political Obsession;' but that is a charge which at least one reader is prepared to face. The unreality seems to be rooted in the underlying analysis of the term 'community' as applied to the modern world as a whole. 'I call a group of people a "community," ' Mr. Cohen tells us (p. 3), 'so far as they depend on each other for their means of living.' Now, assuming this to be a satisfactory definition, it is no doubt true that there are world-wide bonds of community between certain groups of people. But this is not the same thing as saying, as Mr. Cohen does, that 'All two thousand million of us are living on a single planet in a single community' (*ibid.*). The latter statement is fallacious if only because there are still substantial numbers of people of whom it is just not true to say that they depend on the rest of the world 'for their means of living.' And even insofar as the alleged 'world community' does exist, its mode of existence needs to be indicated more clearly and, if such a term may be ventured, more

realistically than is done in this essay. At the very least, we need to know something of the part played in it by what Collingwood (*New Leviathan*, 20.32) calls the non-social community.

Mr. Cohen has written a stimulating and provocative essay: his book deserves to be widely read. If it fails in the end to convince, it is because he attempts too much in a narrow compass and ignores certain stubborn factors in the problem.

King's College, University of Aberdeen.   J. H. BURNS

Culture and Human Fertility by Frank Lorimer and others. Pp. 514. U.N.E.S.C.O., Paris, 1954. 25s.

Social sciences have not yet sorted out the complex factors governing human fertility. How are we to choose between the gloom of neo-Malthusianism and the brash Communist faith in plenty for all? Are we to follow Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders in accepting a universal tendency towards the maintenance of an 'optimum-population' suitable for the resources and the technological organisation of each area and linked with certain practices 'incidentally' limiting the increase of population? Or, at least with reference to Asian agrarian societies, is perhaps the contrary theory more revealing, that the high fertility rate has been developed in order to survive the high mortality?

The U.N.E.S.C.O. study *Culture and Human Fertility* goes some way towards answering these questions. It incorporates a comprehensive theoretical essay by Professor Frank Lorimer, and five case-studies: of Ashanti by Professor Meyer Fortes, of the Gold Coast by Professor K. A. Busia, of Buganda, and Buhaya by Professor Audrey Richards and Miss Priscilla Reining, and of Brazil by Professor Giorgio Mortara. Professor Lorimer surveys a large amount of anthropological, demographic and other material and formulates some tentative conclusions. He confirms the Malthusian dilemma for pre-industrial societies where the death-rate is rapidly falling under the impact of Western civilisation. He believes that the accompanying breakdown of social institutions and the disorganisation of personal relations are likely to let loose a tendency towards a relatively unrestricted procreation. He is, however, somewhat more optimistic than Malthus in his estimate of the possibilities of reduction of fertility. Societies may act on a broad front, some-

times under government sponsorship, if aided by competent social scientists and if they are made aware of the factors involved, instead of leaving the process of adjustment of the fertility-rate to the slow, fumbling efforts of individuals.

King's College, Aberdeen.   J. FRANKEL

A History of Prostitution by George Ryley Scott. Pp. xii + 300. Torchstream Books, London, 1954. 42s.

There is so little modern literature on prostitution, that any new work on the subject is welcome and should be appraised seriously. It is perhaps unfortunate that this book, as do some of its predecessors, concentrates mainly on the professional prostitute. For the proper study of prostitution should be made against the background study of promiscuity; whether it be by the 'amateur' prostitute whose method is more selective, and whose price is not only in coin, or that large number of women and girls who indulge in loveless intercourse with many partners, where the identity or personality of the male is of little importance. It is questionable whether professional prostitution today in England, under present economic conditions, constitutes a grave social evil; the number of professionals is by comparison small, and apart from the minor incidence of crime which is sometimes connected with their activities, no great harm is done by their presence. Indeed, the zealous reformer who wishes to eradicate the professional prostitute by repressive measures might take note of Lombroso's warning that 'prostitution largely takes the place of crime in women.' The title of this book is *A History of Prostitution,* and the author would have better confined its contents to the title. Those chapters which deal historically with prostitution are excellent and well written; it is obvious that the author has carried out a great deal of painstaking research into the subject, particularly when he deals with religious prostitution and that of primitive races. Few readers will be aware that in the latter part of the nineteenth century an abortive attempt was made in England to control and inscribe prostitutes under the provisions of the now repealed Contagious Diseases Prevention Act 1864, an interesting discovery by the author. It is in those parts of this book which deal with the 'causes' and 'reasons' for prostitution that the author shows

his limitations in his approach to this subject. It is dangerous to be too rigid in determining etiological factors; this can easily lead to a confusion between cause and effect, and once the belief in a particular cause has become a dogma, the symptomatic treatment that follows might well mask the real evil. The modern view is to note predisposing (e.g. emotional) and precipitating (e.g. economic) factors. It is here that the book, to a degree, fails in its purpose. The underlying cause of prostitution, maintains the author, is polyeroticism in the male! But does this help us to understand why a woman sells her body indiscriminately to a partner for whom she usually feels nothing but contempt? And does this explain the motives of the prostitute's impotent or perverted client? Little attention is paid to the current psychological theories on prostitution, and one of the most revealing studies, Dr. Edward Glover's *Psychopathology of Prostitution* is not even mentioned in the bibliography. No one who observes prostitutes can deny the importance of emotional factors, and the theory that prostitution is connected with the lack of or deficiency in a love object deserves some consideration. The author makes no constructive suggestions for the eradication of prostitution except rightly, to stress that repressive measures will drive the prostitute underground and produce most undesirable effects. Here again, no mention is made of the interesting experiment carried out in Soviet Russia, and described in an admirable fashion in *Prostitution and the Law* by T. E. James, (a general study of prostitution published in 1951 and also not included in the author's bibliography) where it is the prostitute's client who is stigmatised by the publication of his name, and where voluntary rehabilitative measures are offered to the prostitute, who is not punished for her activities. It is therefore with these reservations that this book can be recommended.

London. R. B. COWAN

Social Security in the British Commonwealth by Ronald Mendelsohn. Pp. xiv + 391. The Athlone Press, London, 1954. 35s.

'It is hard to avoid the conclusion that there has been built up something of a mythology about social insurance' remarks Dr. Mendelsohn. He is referring to the Englishman's reputed eagerness

to pay insurance contributions with a view to maintaining his independence. There is also, surely, a mythology about the Dominions, those wide open spaces where men are free and equal, and it is time that their social security systems should be properly understood in this country, with due consideration given to strengths and weaknesses. Mr. Mendelsohn's book will fill a gap in provision of necessary information and will arouse interest in his effort to discover, by comparative study, the ideal system which, he says, should be simple and cheap to run, cover everyone for all common risks, dispense with a means test and be covered by one source of taxation, easy to collect and not bearing too heavily on those with small incomes.

The only serious criticism he levels at the British system is expense of administration, but he makes out his case. He reckons the number of people employed in this 'Industry' of National Insurance and National Assistance as over 60,000, and the cost of administering unemployment benefit from 1944 to 1948 (a time when payments were low) as 30·6% of benefits paid.

The fact that Canada is not as fully industrialised as Britain may indeed account for its more limited social provision, but Dr. Mendelsohn blames the Federal constitution. Since property and civil rights are matters for provincial governments, Federal social legislation is barred where the contributory principle is used. This bar has been overcome by universal provision for family allowances and for old age security payments, to those 70 and over, without contribution condition or means test. On the other hand an amendment of the constitution was necessary to introduce a limited scheme of unemployment insurance. Health insurance, where it exists at all, is a matter for the provinces, and old people between 65 and 69 have to turn to an assistance programme on a means test basis.

The characteristic Australian spirit of fair play which requires a fair go for all and insists on a democratic equalitarian approach to all problems had the paradoxical effect in Australia of dispensing with poor relief entirely on account of abhorrence of the English deterrent Poor Law. This abhorrence would seem to be something of a rationalisation for Dr. Mendelsohn, describing the bitter conditions of the slump of 1929, proceeds: 'The unemployed were never given an allowance which they could regard as a right; and they were made to feel that their dole was not something due to them as citizens, but a charitable donation from a community pleased

to be generous.' Contribution to the social insurance funds was compulsory, but did not carry right to benefit and relief in the country districts was administered by the police. There was a work test. It has thus not been difficult for Australians, since the war, to accept as comparatively humane a means test sufficiently severe to exclude from benefit more than half the aged. They do not apparently *wish* to be 'deterrent.' They all pay social services contribution on a P.A.Y.E. system, but it does not entitle them to benefit, for although they dislike a means test, they feel obliged to operate one in the interests of thrift. Dr. Mendelsohn would like to abolish the test, although this would mean giving everyone, rich or poor, benefit as of right on occurrence of risk.

New Zealand stands in a class by itself (except for the scheme for over 70's in Canada) in having introduced universal superannuation at 65 without contribution or means test. This is a small country with only two million inhabitants, the skilled population of a productive land. It must be their grasp of a new principle—Dr. Mendelsohn's own—which endears them to protagonists of social security. The principle is the provision of benefits to *everyone* because *a large number* need them, and because it is administratively cheaper and regarded as more just by the community to give to all than to exclude some. However, age benefit under 65 and unemployment benefit are subject to a means test, while a sick person is compensated for actual loss of wages. He may recover 7/6d. per visit of his doctor's bills, but the doctor usually charges more than this.

It will be seen that this book is a mine of useful information, if at times a little disjointed and repetitive. Dr. Mendelsohn's mission is to lighten the weight of centralised administration before it becomes administration for administration's sake—or for the sake of its empire builders. He thinks it should soon be possible in all our four countries to move towards a state of affairs in which benefit is given *solely upon proof of the protected risk,* thus avoiding a complicated system of record keeping.

Such a tidy system would triumphantly guarantee 'the right to go unquestioned freely about the world, shaping one's own life without restraint and protected against danger, exploitation and starvation by the power of the community—provided of course that one works according to one's capacity.' Or would it, one wonders, be nothing more than universal compulsory saving, with the weaker brethren

relegated to the poor law?

Again, a philosophy of moving freely through the world and collapsing on the community at risk has more meaning for Australia than for Britain, but it is at best adolescent. It is this philosophy and not an inherent tendency for administration to grow, that encourages bureaucracy. People are disinterested in administration when they cease to control it directly.

London School of Economics.   HELEN O. JUDD

The Year Book of Education, 1954.   Pp. xiv + 630. London: Evans Bros., 1954. 63s.

This series is of the greatest importance in the study of education and its relationship to social development. The theme of the 1954 *Year Book* is the role of education in social and economic affairs, particularly in areas undergoing rapid technological change. This excellent symposium also considers the moral and cultural concomitants. It combines essays on the general implications with studies of specific areas throughout the world. Britain, the Americas, (North and South), the Commonwealth, the Far East, the Near East, the U.S.S.R. and her allies are all represented. This is an invaluable book.

University College of North Staffordshire.   W. A. C. STEWART

Sociology by Lundberg, Schrag, Larsen. Pp. xxviii + 740. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954. (London: Hamish Hamilton Ltd.). 48s.

An unusual and valuable feature of this useful book is the preliminary discussion of scientific method and the use of terminology. Problems of demography follow, together with the various categories of analysis of human behaviour and human society. An outline of behaviour systems of individuals and groups leads to a discussion of the inter-relationship of culture, personality, and social roles, and the deviations which can be permitted in various societies. There is an excellent discussion of communication both in language and in

other symbolic forms. The whole book concludes by considering social cohesion and social change. This is a well organized and coherent introduction to sociology, useful for more than class text purposes for which is was designed.

University College of North Staffordshire.   W. A. C. STEWART

Toward Understanding Germany by Robert H. Lowie. Pp. ix + 396. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, (Agents Cambridge University Press), 1954. 45s.

This is an informative work which will certainly help the general reader to understand those aspects of Germany with which it deals —territorial particularism, the class structure, the family and democracy. Professor Lowie documents his argument thoroughly. Indeed, so abundant are the case histories and other data supplied that some of the conclusions drawn from all this evidence seem somewhat unexciting or negative: e.g. the sharpness of German class divisions, the *absence* of extreme patriarchalism in German families or the *absence* of innate anti-democratic feelings among the German people. It is no doubt good that these conclusions should be given as scientific a basis as possible. But the author's strict objectivity also precludes treatment of such burning problems of the moment as partition and reunification. These are the limitations of a generally cautious but reliable book.

University College of North Staffordshire.   K. G. KNIGHT

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ANDERSON, JOHN M.: *The Individual and the New World*, Bald Eagle Press, Pennsylvania, 1955, $4.00.

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BOURIEZ-GREGG, FRANCOISE: *Les Classes Sociales Aux Etats-Unis*, Librairie Armand Colin, Paris, 1954.

DOUCY, ARTHUR & DELANOIS, RENE: *Problèmes de Relations Humaines, dans L'Industrie*, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Institut de Sociologie Solvay, Bruxelles, 1955.

EGGAN, FRED. (editor): *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, Enlarged Edition, University of Chicago Press, (Cambridge University Press), Chicago, 1955, 52s. 6d.

FISHER, MARGARET: *Leadership and Intelligence*, Bureau of Publications, Columbia University, New York, 1954, $3.75.

FRUMKIN, ROBERT M.: *The Measurement of Marriage Adjustment*, Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C., 1954, $1.00.

FISHBEIN, MORRIS (editor): *1955 Medical Progress*, McGraw-Hill Publishing Co. Inc., New York, 1955, 37s. 6d.

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SCHRIEKE, B. (selected writings of): *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, W. Van Hoeve Ltd., Bandung, 1955, Hfl. 9.50.

STOETZEL, JEAN: *Without the Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, Wm. Heinemann, London, 1955, 16s.

WOOTON, BARBARA: *The Social Foundations of Wage Policy*, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1955, 15s.

WARREN, ROLAND L.: *Studying Your Community*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1955, $3.00.

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United Nations Publications

Demographic Yearbook 1954, New York, 1955, paperbound 45s., clothbound 55s.

International Review of Criminal Policy, No. 5, New York, 1955, 15s.

Building and Housing Research, Housing and Town and Country Planning, New York, 1953, 7s. 6d.

Survey of Social Statistics, New York, 1955, 3s.

International Directory of Schools of Social Work, New York, 1955, 9s.

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The University Teaching of Social Sciences: Sociology, Social Psychology and Anthropology, Paris, 1954, 10s. 6d.

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